

INSIDE: Japan prepares to rearm

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JULY 25, 1983

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THE AGONY OVER ABORTION

Dr. Henry Morgentaler



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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
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JULY 25, 1983 VOL. 56 NO. 30



Reagan and the black vote
As American blacks register for the vote in unprecedented numbers, the Reagan administration is trying to prove that it is not indifferent to minorities. —Page 18



The mystery at Sick Kids
The near-accused nurse, Susan Nellen, is back at work while a new inquiry probes the unexplained infant deaths at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children. —Page 40

COVER

The agency over abortion

Dr. Henry Morgentaler had long won his battle in Quebec against anti-abortion laws and pressure groups, but when he spread his sphere of operations to Winnipeg and Toronto, where he saw faster criminal charges, one of the nation's most divisive and bitter issues erupted with unprecedented vehemence and displays of moral outrage. —Page 32



Socredemics' casualties
Angry reaction to British Columbia's tough budget (introduced last week) as 50,000 public employees cleaned out their desks and labor threatened action. —Page 10



Dancing the night away
John Travolta returns to the screen as the agile Tony Manero in *Shogun Alibi*, sequel to the phenomenally successful *Saturday Night Fever*. —Page 53

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You can pour whisky

FOLLOW-UP

Handcuffs across the border

The step was both bold and—in Canadian-U.S. relations—unprecedented. The government of Canada petitioned a Florida district court last month in Jacksonville for a writ of habeas corpus asking the court to free Sidney Jaffe, a 39-year-old Canadian lawyer and land developer convicted in Florida in September, 1981, of unlawful land-sale practices. In the traditional language of such petitions, the document vividly declared: "Now comes Canada, a sovereign nation and body politic." If the petition succeeds, Florida would be forced to release Jaffe from custody and turn him over to Canadian authorities.

For more than two years diplomats in both countries have sparred over the Byrdline Jaffe case. The circumstances of Jaffe's conviction lie at the center of the dispute. With the consent, and possible collusion, of Florida state officials, two American bounty hunters forcibly removed Jaffe from River Street West near his Toronto home in September, 1981, manacled him, drove him across the Canadian border to Ne-

agara Falls and flew him to Palatka, Fla., to stand trial. Florida Circuit Court Judge Robert Perry subsequently fined Jaffe \$150,000 and sentenced him to 30 years in prison. But Ottawa argued that his abduction was a clear violation of the U.S.-Canada Extradition Treaty, under which law enforcement authori-

Two bounty hunters manacled a Canadian, drove him across the border and flew him to Florida for trial

ties in one country, or request, routinely return fugitives from justice to the other's custody. The Canadian Embassy in Washington filed a string of protest notes and various Canadian cabinet officials broached the case directly with officials with their Reagan administration counterparts. But Ottawa's complaints proved unavailing.

Washington insisted that the U.S. courts had given Jaffe due process regardless of how he arrived in Florida. The alleged kidnapping, it maintained, while reprehensible, was a separate matter best dealt with by the extradition of the bounty hunters to Canada and their subsequent trials. Indeed, after protracted hearings and appeals, Daniel Keat and Thron Johnson are now free on \$130,000 bail and are scheduled to stand trial in Toronto in November on kidnapping charges.

When diplomacy failed to obtain Jaffe's release, Ottawa sought legal assistance. Last fall it sent the U.S. justice department a 67-page brief formally claiming violations of the extradition treaty and infringement of Canada's sovereign right to grant or withhold asylum to fugitives. Moreover, the brief declared that because the facts of the case showed that state officials "promoted and encouraged" Jaffe's removal to Florida, the U.S. federal government had a legal obligation to set Jaffe free. After another long delay, the U.S. justice department in November, 1983,

finally accepted the Canadian argument—but with conditions. Disputing that Florida's participation in the alleged kidnapping scheme was clearly proven, it turned the case over to Florida Gov. Robert Graham and asked him to investigate. The justice department said that Washington would recommend that Jaffe be released only if direct state collusion was found.

Canadian officials were not happy with this technical victory, since it effectively allowed Florida to determine its own guilt or innocence. Ottawa awarded the governor's report with few illusions about its probable outcome. The skepticism was well-founded. Last month, in a 14-page report, counsel to Graham cleared Florida state attorney officials of any wrongdoing. At worst, it concluded, the state attorney's investigator, Glenn Harris, "may have exhibited some degree of poor judgment" in helping one of the alleged kidnappers to locate Jaffe's Canadian address.

Canada again protested, labeling the report a bold whitewash. Last month Allan Gotlieb, the Canadian ambassador to the United States, raised the issue directly with Deputy Attorney General Edward Schlemm. Washington was sympathetic, conceding that the governor's finding was "disappointing." But the best alternative U.S. officials could offer was an effort to influence



Jaffe abducted from a Toronto street

the Florida Parole Board to release Jaffe early. His parole had originally been scheduled for last May 31 but was delayed six months at the express request of the Florida state attorney. In the meantime, Jaffe's appeal of his conviction and his own petition for his release under a writ of habeas corpus are still pending.

In short, Canada's novel recourse to the U.S. judicial system was a last resort. The petition for habeas corpus,

raising the Florida attorney general and the state's chief correctional officer as respondents, charges that Keat and Johnson acted "oppressant to a plus pronounced by officials of the state of Florida."

As outlined by Ottawa, when Jaffe failed to appear for trial, Perry issued a judgment against the bail company appointing the FBI to find him. It had put up as Jaffe's bailiff Butte's subsequent impromptu meeting, the state attorney's office, lawyers for the bonding agency and county officials agreed to ask Perry to reverse his judgment, thus providing the financial incentive for the bail company's efforts to return Jaffe to Florida. Perry complied and the two bounty hunters, Keat and Johnson, were sent to Canada. However, Ottawa may not be able to prove that scenario. Various participants in the tripartis deal have since altered testimony given in depositions and at Judge Perry's extradition hearing. What Canada—and Jaffe—has in its favor is the weight of the original evidence and Washington's admission that important principles of international law—binding on states and previous office—are at stake. If a state such as Florida is free to foot an extradition treaty at its will, the integrity of all international agreements may be seriously eroded.

—MICHAEL POMER in Washington.



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The trials of Leonard Jones

During Leonard Jones's 11 years as mayor of Montreal, N.B., and his four years as an independent member of Parliament, he was rarely at a loss for words. Funny and controversial, he said, Jones was particularly notorious for his staunch opposition to expanded French-language rights. In 1974 his outspoken criticisms of Ottawa's bilingual policies prompted then Conservative leader Robert Stanfield to drop Jones as the PC's official candidate even though his Montreal riding association had duly nominated him. Underestimated, Jones ran as an independent under the banner of "The People's Choice"—and handily won the seat. Now the 59-year-old continue to be in retirement from politics and practices law. But headlines still stalk him. On July 4, New Brunswick Provincial Court Judge James McNamara found Jones guilty of making false and deceptive tax statements on earnings of more than \$200,000 between 1974 and 1977.

There was a time when Jones was rarely out of the news. While mayor from 1968 to 1974, he constantly voiced strong and contrary opinions on subjects as varied as long hair and Radio-Canada's new \$45,000 Austrian-made Bendesider piano for the Montreal sym-

phon. Once, when Quebec's official publisher Mel Horrig arrived at the mayor's chambers, Jones told him, "I don't think I could believe you because I can't see your nose. A few days later, he pointedly told a gathering of New Brunswick mayors, "I'm fed up with this boozing that goes on at the public expense."

Jones achieved his greatest notoriety as an ardent opponent of official bilingualism. In 1968 angry Audien supporters doused a pig's head onto his doorstep after their requests for bilingual municipal services in Montreal—a city in which more than 40 per cent of the 63,000 residents are French-speaking—had received an unresponsive hearing at city hall. In 1974 Jones went so far as to challenge the constitutionality of Ottawa's Official Languages Act in the Supreme Court of Canada, an action that failed.

After his jump to federal politics in 1978, Jones served one four-year term as an independent member of Parliament before withdrawing from politics.



Jones: Montreal mayor

ing health problems. Today Jones maintains that he never was "anti-French," but was simply opposed to what he believed was the federal government's heavy-handed system of implementing bilingualism. Of the Official Languages Act, he declares, "It was not bilingualism, it was separation."

Jones's protracted trial for tax evasion began last December but, because of numerous technical adjustments for such reasons as courtroom availability, it did not wind up until last month. As he pronounced Jones guilty, Judge McNamara said that the case "reads as it began—in a question of credibility." McNamara was scheduled to sentence Jones this week. The four-year paper chase a hefty fine—possibly as much as \$200,000—even though he owes only \$18,000 in back taxes.

Jones now plans to concentrate on his law practice, which, he claims, is "booming" but he cannot quite give up the notion of someday running for office. "How old is Reagan?" he asked of the 72-year-old U.S. president. "Well, I'm 68. I think I still have a chance."

—DAVID FOLSTER in Montreal

COLUMBIA

A ticket to a boring Sally Ride

By Fred Bruening

Before we spoiled things, outer space was a fascinating idea. American children would be made at night imagining how neat it would be to glide through the galaxies, lighting for truth and justice on this planet or that, romancing cosmic gods and goddesses and then motoring away for further adventure and new conquests in the name of virtue and right. These were times of imagination, of a sense, of course, and they are lost forever. Now we routinely blast off and land again a few days later, and not surprisingly, the whole thing has become tedious.

The problem goes beyond the simple matter of just going into outer space. Here, then, is a triumph of engineering, our space program represents a crisis of personality. As a class of human beings, astronauts are not interesting people—or maybe they are interesting people, but the National Aeronautics and Space Administration has forbidden them to prove it. Probably both come in play. The astronauts are not, by nature, interesting, and even if they were, NASA would insist that no one ever know.

A major factor is that spacewalkers tend to be physical enthusiasts very much devoted to jogging and aerobics, and that preoccupation, in itself, goes a long way toward explaining their dullness. As a general rule, individuals with square jaws, flat stomachs and frustrated thighs are not consumed by their own infidelity to deal on a meaningful level with those of us who eat pastries and sandwiches and drink Hawaiian Punch and think it probable that anyone would want to see around the neighborhood half-dressed at six o'clock in the morning. We are not in their league, let alone their orbit.

Also, they talk funny. Everything is an acronym—APN and FAM and ITS—as if too many syllables would somehow weigh down the spacecraft and keep it stired in the dust of Cape Canaveral. Kaposars warblers who speak in riddles and commentators around as though there were an inaudible super-sound are made to feel irrelevant and degenerate. The astronauts have a secret language, lean and mean and to the point. We don't know it, it is their own talking about and let's face it, they seem intent on keeping us in the dark.

All of which brings us to Sally K.

Ride. Keenly curious, accompanied the Challenger shuttle flight because she was aboard—a woman in space, that of 37, 64, brave new world T-shirts appear, "Ride, Sally Ride," and for the launch Jane Fonda and Gloria Steinem were publicists. "I wore in my teens and I read about her," Fonda said, "I would certainly not know science or engineering, which I never would have before." Steinem also thought Ride would profoundly affect the next generation. "It's an important first step," said, "because it means millions and millions of little girls are going to sit in front of the television and know they can become astronauts after this."

For her part, Sally Ride evidently was not for the sort of little girl inclined to sit in front of the television and wonder if appropriate role models. On her own she succeeded, and one might suppose there are young women—and young men—somewhere here and there around the

'It would be reassuring to learn that Sally Ride pops chocolate cherries while writing her Summer of Sin novel'

country with enough vision, energy, apt and sacrifice to, likewise, reach for the stars, so to speak.

Sally Ride's importance is not based so much on evidence that she has contributed the results (she is an astrophysicist) and the resolute determination to enter the space program, or even that she overcome what most be agreed were the enormous odds a woman faces if, in all the world, she wants next to be pushed like a sled and sent into a constrictor the size of a ball of clay and then launched, abruptly, 380 miles above sea level. All astronauts are heady and ambitious and, to a greater or lesser degree, had to beat the odds. (Soon to be named up in Grace S. Haffner, a black astronaut. You want to talk about overcoming? You want long, short, Sally Ride's special virtue is that she has none—that she is so much like the male space cadets who preceded her, so utterly and convincingly their equal. Just as determined. Just as disciplined. Just as fascinating. And she is talkative.)

She prefers not to speak about herself—Ride has turned down 1,800 requests for interviews—and when, B-

really, she is concerned, says wearily that she doesn't like the word "comely," that, no, she doesn't say much, isn't the least afraid of space travel and, most important, wishes everyone would stop thinking of her as a hero. It is just too much of a burden, this business of immortality. "I'm not a historical material," protested astronaut Ride. One might have reminded her that "historical" qualities rarely are of consequence in the United States. Recent in its own right, we only look back to the White House for confirmation.

How encouraging it would have been to learn not that Sally Ride despises fame but that she sort of likes a touch of glitter now and then. How reassuring to discover that, two times a week, she goes out to a country-rock place where the bartender knows her only as Sal and that, ah, around 11 p.m., she grabs the mike and belts out endless turbo stanzas of Heart Like a Wheel. Or, better still, that after a hard day in the flight simulator, Sally Ride has nothing to do but head for the Houston suburbs and, after a hellu like for baby Steven Hawley (also an astronaut—was you stand off), open a box of chocolate-covered cherries, take the cover off her typewriter and hammer away on the next chapter of a novel with the working title *Summer of Sin*.

Frilly is what's missing here—a modicum of failure or indecision or carelessness. In the old days, Flash Gordon could afford to be perfect. Bored and bored and forever on the heels of offing the dinosaurs, he was only a failure as the latest movie series, a dream that occurred every Saturday morning just as certainly as popovers and Jaws. In fiction, anything can happen. Life, though, is more complicated, or ought to be. When we think of a new book heralding melancholy country singers and paperback novelists' Part-time striptease artists or folks who lose too much at the tables in Las Vegas? Probably not. Understandably, the government wants only the bright-colored people heading to march million-dollar machinery. Robots and astrophysicists, endive-enters and overachievers with prefrontal-lobe problems. From then you get maximum efficiency and a minimum of words. You get excellent heart pills. You get professional indignation. Sorry, that's another department.

Fred Bruening is a writer with *Newsday* in New York.

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GIL making life more difficult for the poor and disadvantaged

CANADA

Bennett girds for a grinding battle

By Malcolm Gray

Ross Fedy was relaxing at his home on Sunday morning when the sharp ring of the B.C. government's redial air raid siren program suddenly cut him off his job. First, Fedy, 32, opened the door to a government agent who handed him a letter firing him from a five-year career as an investigations officer with the Terrace office of the provincial human rights branch. Then, the agent demanded that Fedy immediately surrender the keys to his office and staff car. Fedy was one of 400 public workers fired as the Social Credit government began to carry out its promise to reduce British Columbia's \$4,000 public employees by 35 per cent as part of one of the most controversial cutback programs undertaken in Canada since the advent of the welfare state.

Last week, as the restraint measures began to bite, the public shock turned to anger and those who are most threatened by the policies loudly denounced Premier William Bennett's government. Threat groups, outraged by the abolition of rent controls, promised rent

strikes. Union leaders threatened a general strike, and the Opposition NDP denounced the legislation as "Yankee." There was even criticism from outside the province for budget measures such as the closure of the B.C. human rights commission and hospital user fees that will make life more difficult for the disadvantaged. Said Gordon Fairweather, head of the federal human rights commission, "There will be an ethnic battle in British Columbia, dividing it out as a lesser place for human rights." Added Chas Gil, who is both president of the B.C. Organisation to Fight Racism and one of the key organizers of farmworkers in the province: "The government has unravelled human rights and sent a message to minorities saying that their rights are not a priority."

Elsewhere, however, there was a different reaction as other governments across the country carefully watched Bennett's attempt to turn historic human rights and cut the visa of the bureaucracy. The question is all politicians' minds are Bennett cut away with it, and at what political cost.

One week after introducing the Pub-

lic Sector Restriction Act, a bill that would make even tenured university professors subject to dismissal, Finance Minister Hugh Martin defended his actions as a rational return to reality. The July 7 budget is based on the government's philosophical belief that government should not hamper the private sector—the chief source of job creation—and that government services should be closely tied to people's ability to pay. "Our budget is really the story of a series of steps which are going to be taken in each budgetary cycle and legislative session," Martin said, adding that the government was fulfilling a mandate acquired when Social Credit won reelection on May 5.

Bennett's budget, which has already been nicknamed "Socialism," is an economic hybrid containing, as do its authors, a peculiar combination of liberalism and authoritarian ideas. Faced with a 12.5-per-cent increase in government spending this year and a forecast deficit of \$1.4 billion, the government increased the sales tax to seven per cent and raised hospital user fees, a move certain to bring it into conflict with the federal government.

Raising the sales tax was not the measure that concerned Michael Walker of the conservative Fraser Institute recommended to the government when he was asked to advise cabinet on how to deal with the province's economic problems last month. Walker is not pleased by the still large deficit and so hopes that it will be lower than predicted because of the government's cautious revenue estimates. At the same time, however, he is delighted that the government is reducing the number of civil servants, something it as a precedent that will be followed by governments across the country.

At the same time, the government has taken a more interventionist role in the controversial areas of medical services and education. In health matters, in addition to continuing to cut fees charged by doctors, it also plans to limit the number of physicians who are practicing in Vancouver, Victoria and the Okanagan because it says those areas are overcrowded with medical practitioners. At the same time, Bennett hopes that by allowing doctors to create parts of the province to charge higher fees, more doctors will move to those areas.

Health Minister James Nielsen has already anticipated a challenge to the act on the basis that it will restrict doctors' medical rights, which are guaranteed under the Charter of Rights. As a result, a physician who is a medical services billing number in Vancouver will still be able to practise there. But his patients will have to meet the fees themselves, even though they



Currie himself (shown): increased taxes and medical costs, but little for business

may be covered by medicine. There has been little reaction so far from B.C. doctors to the changes, but school trustees and teachers have been weak in their opposition to the government's plans to control local school budgets for the next three years. At the same time, their salaries will be frozen and the student-teacher ratio restored to the 1976 ratio of 19 to 1—moves that may result in 3,000 of the province's 26,000 full-time teachers losing their

jobs. Until July 7 the 26 regional districts in the province had the power to oversee money planning in their areas. Those powers vanished as budget day, not long after a controversial and development scheme in the suburban community of Delta had been rejected by the local regional district. Walter Davidson, the MLA for Delta and the Social Credit Speaker of the House, was a key figure in the voting changes. In late June he complained that

a socialist-conservative conspiracy—supposedly involving Vancouver representatives of the Greater Vancouver Regional District—had stopped the development. He promised that the government would do something about the decision. Two weeks later it did, returning voting to municipal councils and increasing the chances of neo-oriental development around Victoria and Vancouver.

Leading the names of disaffected was NDP leader David Barrett. "This group [the Socialists] that says it wants no government is among one of its central of freedom that we have accepted in this country for years," he declared.

So far, the government has shrugged off this early criticism of its new law, encouraged by Currie's tough stance last week. Still, as opposition spreads across the province, the ability of the Bennett administration to hold its ground will be stretched to the limit. □

The cruise: all systems go

After months of skirting the issue, the Trudeau cabinet finally approved the testing of U.S. cruise missiles in Canada last week. But far from settling the matter, the long-awaited decision only opened the latest phase in the national controversy over the tests. Canadian critics attacked the move, and a group of 25 labor unions and peace groups prepared to challenge the decision in court. In a late-Friday news conference, which appeared aimed to maximize publicity, External Affairs Minister Allan Rock announced the tests as a contribution to NATO security which could give Canada a greater voice in arms control talks. Said MacKenzie: "In making these decisions we had very much in mind our reliability as a member of the alliance, and therefore our possibility of influencing arms reductions."

Meanwhile, Washington obtained almost exactly what it asked for June 13, when it formally requested Ottawa to permit the tests. The arrangement provides that the cruise missiles to be launched from US Air Force B-51 bombers off the northern coast near the Mackinac Delta. The flight corridor, 150 km wide, runs north, parallel to the Rockies, and turns east near Dawson Creek across Peace River country, to the Yukon, and then the air weapon testing range on the northern Alberta-Saskatchewan border. As many as six tests would be flown each year between January and March—when there is no chance that a crash would start forest fires. The Rockies are in and with subarctic conditions on the use of Prometheus Lake.

In an effort to head off the government, James Stork, head of the anti-arms Operation Dismantle, along with several labor groups, is attempting to win a Federal Court injunction against the tests so grounds that they fail as arms race that violate the constitutional right to "life, liberty and security."

Pierre Trudeau also faces opposition in the Commons. New Democratic Party leader Jean Charest has said the decision was announced while Parliament is in recess and no debate is possible. Paul Molloy, one of several Liberal MPs openly unhappy with the tests, said, "I think we're supporting a weapon which could be very, very dangerous to the peace of the world. Its deployment is proceeding—on B-51s in the United States, and on the ground in Europe later this year. Canada's participation, said MacKenzie, is a reflection of our solidarity with our allies."

—ROSE HAY in Ottawa

A Liberal lesson in strategy

Starting into the late-afternoon session, Jack Roberts faced the press because "when it comes out, it's generally because there's not anything of tremendous specific importance," the environment minister said after a seven-hour caucus meeting at the government-owned Meech Lake lodge in the Galt House Hills. The key word in Roberts' comment was "typical"—no definitive policies were settled at the annual summer get-together. But the meeting was a crucial first step in the Liberals' plan to develop an all-right election strategy based on continued economic recovery and a strong defence of the country's social programs. The next session of Parliament—beginning in the fall—will probably be the last before the election. With the Liberals trailing badly in the polls (34 per cent), compared with 56 per cent for the Tories, last week's subject was launched the government into what could well be the Summer of the Liberals' Last Chance.

In the wake of the Meech Lake meeting, the Liberals commenced an extensive round of consultations with various labor and private sector groups to assuage the government to develop popular policies for the next session. That campaign got a high-profile start late last week when Finance Minister Marc Lalonde and Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau met for a two-hour lunch with an all-powertown group of 35 business executives. The businessmen urged the government to extend its 80-and-five restraint program for at least another year beyond its expiry date in June, 1984. The executives, led by Ian Rankin, chairman of Co-Operatives, were part of a 100-member economic summit set up to promote restraint following the government's June, 1982, budget. With inflation—which had dropped to 5.4 per cent in May from a high of 12.8 per cent in August, 1980—their main preoccupation, the businessmen wanted to ensure their own costs and to encourage their colleagues to revitalize and expand their operations. They added that Canadians should aim for a target of four-per-cent inflation by 1985. "What you're starting to see now is a sense of purpose in the private sector in getting the economy moving again," said Quebec Outa Ou President J.K. Grant. Added Rankin: "The government had the right position with 80-and-five and in the [April] budget—we're saying, 'Stop the course'."

The policymakers assume will continue throughout the summer. That week Lalonde and Economic Development Minister Donald Johnston will

hold a weekend meeting on economic development at a resort in the Laurentians. Ministers, including Trudeau, will participate about a third of the approximately 30 participants. The remainder will be businessmen, labor leaders and academics, including U.S. economists John Kenneth Galbraith and Paul Samuelson. The subject will hold several sessions on employment issues in early August and a discussion of foreign affairs and defence issues in mid-August. At the end of the month



Lalonde summary conclusion

the party's platform committee will meet, and in early September the caucus will assemble. Then the granaries and planning committee of the cabinet will return to Meech Lake to hammer out policy details and attach a price tag. Said Roberts: "We will be looking for very good ideas we can find."

The quest for marketable policies at last week's meeting underscored the job creation and the preservation of social security programs. Cabinet members are convinced that many provinces have

underestimated the public's desire to preserve the social safety net.

The battle over social security, however, will be just one issue that promises to set Ottawa on a collision course with the provinces. Already, federal-provincial antagonism has begun to surface. It began two weeks ago when the federal government clashed with Quebec and Newfoundland. Federal strategists say that Ottawa moved unilaterally into the fishing and offshore oil disputes with Newfoundland because Premier Brian Peckford refused to compromise. According to one cabinet minister, "he simply does not know how to negotiate." The close timing of the two disputes with Newfoundland was coincidental, since discussions on both issues had been simmering for months. When Ottawa said it would take over management of the Quebec saltwater fishing industry by next spring, it was following the recommendations of the Kirby report on the Atlantic fishery, but also attacking its least favorite provincial government. Despite these warnings, Liberal strategists insist that they are not fighting for the sake of fighting but to preserve ideals. Medicine is a prime example. Of course, a side benefit is that a federal-provincial dispute over medicine guarantees cross-country publicity. It will also mean taking a key plank from the widely New Democratic Party's platform. Aware of these undeniable benefits, the Liberals are not likely to be conciliatory. This fall Health Minister Maurice Ringuet will introduce a Canada health act that will make provinces. In actuality—perhaps by withholding a dollar of federal funds for every dollar of extra billing or user fees.

On the economic front, the ministers first congratulated themselves on their past performance—then focused on the quest for new job creation activity. Employment Minister Lloyd Axworthy and Trade Minister Edward Levesque presented a joint paper that called for job creation targeted to specific sectors and focused on special groups such as younger people. Ministers were bitter about Brian Mulroney's new job creation campaign at the issue of jobs. Several pointed out that the Tory leader proposed over last year's campaign of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada's operations in Schefferville, Que., and they promised to publicize the federal cut of that shutdown as a key opportunity. "We will not be presented with the issue of job creation," insisted a senior minister. Although so far the government ministers have been as upbeat as pop rallies, the real crunch is yet to come. That will happen in the fall, when the soft task will be to find a way to balance the red ink while still being

—MARY JAMAIN in Ottawa.

The nomination of a leader

Progressive Conservative Leader Brian Mulroney finally came out of the political lock room last week and moved to front and centre stage in his first campaign for public office. Mulroney, Tory leader for a month, moved one step closer to his first parliamentary seat when he was nominated—uncontested—for the Aug. 28 federal by-election in Central Nova, a sprawling, economically depressed riding of 54,000 residents in northeastern Nova Scotia. The nomination meeting was more like a coronation before 1,000 jubilant supporters who packed into the Truro hockey arena, and Mulroney was crowned the centrepiece in a showpiece ceremony of party

polls show local voters tend to favor the man over the party.

In fact, in a recent poll that put across the riding's heavily industrialized core and more diverse industry, forestry and farming regions, Truro's pollster Conner Court found that 43.4 per cent of the people intending to vote Tory would switch to Liberal if Mulroney went over to that party. Mulroney is trying to make the most of that impressive loyalty by being seen everywhere with Mulroney. He also appointed Mulroney, a New Glasgow lawyer, to be his senior adviser, then quipped, "This constituency will get two [sirs] for the price of one."

That confidence is well founded, and



Mulroney: out of the back rooms and onto the centre stage of a campaign

unity, complete with banners and posters. Adding to the heady atmosphere, 19 sirs from across the province, 22 provincial elites and former party leader Robert Stanfield turned out for the occasion. And even the recently deposed leader Joe Clark declared that he will campaign for Mulroney in the riding. Mulroney confidently launched his half-hour speech with a post-20's note to be back in my home town of Truro," he said in a direct reference to the fact that he had parachuted into the safe Tory riding.

The Conservatives have held the constituency for 38 uninterrupted years—the last 12 under Elmer MacKay, who resigned on June 15 to make way for Mulroney. As a result, the new leader's perfection of "A superb victory" seemed to be a safe projection, even though

It appears that Mulroney will be able to slash through the next month and a half without being forced to take many policy stands. Trying to play the clearest Tory down will be Liberal Allan Rock, a middle-aged, 41-year-old high school principal from New Glasgow, who lost to MacKay by 4,486 votes in the 1980 general election, his only other political foray.

In stark contrast to the outpourings of the Tory base, again on Tuesday night, the Liberal nomination meeting the night before attracted a low-key audience of 700. The only national figures who attended were the ubiquitous party president, Iona Campagnolo, and former party president Senator Alexander Graham. Graham said that he will try to cash in on local resentment against "cash man from Quebec" who has "no

knowledge of local issues." But Stinchell has promised there will be no meddling and that the main issue will be jobs, particularly in the industrial areas in which the unemployment rate has been rising for nearly 60 per cent.

The NDP also nominated a candidate with little promise of success. Rev. Ray DeMarch, a 41-year-old retired United Church clergman, entered the fray with the general view that "win or lose, one never loses if one speaks for the issues." In his case the issues will be the full 900 acres, the gradual decline in medical care—primarily critiques in hospital services and the threatened introduction of user fees, unemployment, and the dangers of nuclear accidents. "These are all life and death issues," he said.

For his part, Mulroney acknowledged local problems by stressing that he too would focus on "jobs, jobs and jobs." Still, he will attempt to appeal to a national constituency as well, in preparation for the next general election. In his speech, Mulroney quickly attacked Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau ("there's a heart") and the "diverse and incompetent." Liberals whom he promised to drive from office. But the new leader has yet to enunciate any specific positions that he will take into the national campaign. However, his federal election campaign team is taking shape. Mulroney recently asked party stalwart Paul MacDonald, a senior adviser in Clark's office, to head a transition committee that would plan the PC takeover of power if the party wins the next federal election, due within 18 months. Mulroney has already promised that he will fight the election from a seat in his home province of Quebec, the 54,000 eligible voters in Central Nova know that there will not be the same riding of the next prime minister.

But Mulroney is no stranger to the area. The new leader, who rented a home near New Glasgow last week, lived in Nova Scotia 25 years ago, as a student at Halifax's Dalhousie University and before that at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, an adjacent federal riding. Recently, while he was president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, the native of Bide Cove, Que., ran a spectacularly successful fund-raising campaign for St. Francis, collecting \$4 million more than the 17 million campaign goal. He made it as an adjacent federal riding. Recently, while he was president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, the native of Bide Cove, Que., ran a spectacularly successful fund-raising campaign for St. Francis, collecting \$4 million more than the 17 million campaign goal. He made it as an adjacent federal riding. Recently, while he was president of the Iron Ore Co. of Canada, the native of Bide Cove, Que., ran a spectacularly successful fund-raising campaign for St. Francis, collecting \$4 million more than the 17 million campaign goal. He made it as an adjacent federal riding.

Whatever the outcome, Canadians for the first time will get a foretaste of the anti-seeking Mulroney as he sets out to make his mark in the media as an Ottawa convert—that he will learn his political craft on the job.

—MICHAEL CLARKE in Halifax.

A river's deadly disaster

At 6:00 a.m. on July 5, "slop" began to quietly overflow from a storage tank at the E.R. Eddy Forest Products Ltd. plant in Espanola, 75 km southwest of Sudbury, Ont. No one noticed. Then, the trickle turned to a deluge. Twenty minutes later, 47,000 gallons of a sodium or potassium salt, a still byproduct often used to make household detergents, had spilled, and four days later the soupy emulsion had travelled 55 km to the mouth of the

Spanish River and spilled over its seque miles of Lake Huron. The toxic result: an estimated 100,000 fish were killed (many of them game fish such as pike, perch and muskellunge), disrupting tourist fishing at the peak of the season.

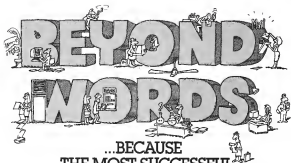
Last week, as company employees in hip waders worked to clean up the rotting fish, officers of Ontario's environment and natural resources department laid eight charges against E.R.

Eddy and two company affiliates under the federal Fisheries Act (for the detergent spill and for another spill of waste water that occurred about the same time). But even those charges did little to cool the anger of commercial fishermen and tourist operators who have threatened to sue the company to reclaim damages. The area usually attracts about 1.5 million tourists each summer. But with thousands of dead fish floating in the river last week, campers from as far away as Florida decided to vacation elsewhere. Said Clifford Lang, an 86-year-old commercial fisherman from Spanish, the 1,500-person town at the mouth of the river: "It's the worst fish kill I have ever seen."

Fishermen in the area have suffered other setbacks since a pulp and paper mill began to operate in 1966. According to James Vance, whose family's operations include commercial fishing, a marina, a motel and the largest tourist camp in the Spanish area, as recently as 15 years ago "nothing lived in the water at all." Since then, residents agree, E.R. Eddy has been making efforts to comply with provincial controls. Now the 40,000-member Ontario Federation of Anglers and Hunters has demanded that the company assume responsibility and pay for the complete rehabilitation of the Spanish River. "We can't poacher with a fish or two, yet here is a big firm killing thousands," said Douglas Opatow, the federation's past president. "This foolishness has to stop." And last week Ian Cairns, vice-president of Eddy's operations at Espanola, agreed to look into reparations. The mill's reasonable attitude was in part a response to the growing outrage of townspeople who are financially dependent on the tourist industry. Led by Vance and Harry Duff, president of the North Shore Anglers' and Hunters' Association, groups of angry citizens displayed trackloads of rotting fish at the mill's gates. "We wanted the staff to take a look and take a whiff," said Vance. "We wanted people to know what happened this time (last August a minor fish kill went almost unreported) so that maybe it won't ever happen again."

Ironically, E.R. Eddy intended to install a treatment unit in the plant next month. "That unit should reduce the current pollution load going into the river by 65 to 85 per cent," said John Werno, a regional manager of pollution abatement with the province. "The kind of spill will probably not happen again." That development, however welcome, did little to placate the tourist operators, anglers and commercial fishermen who live along the Spanish River. "I don't think anybody will be able to measure the damage that has been done this last time," said James Vance, "not even 10 years from now."

—ROBERT ELLMAN in Toronto



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Books (left), registering black voters in the South unimpressed by Reagan's belated efforts to defuse the fairness issue

WORLD

Reagan and the black vote

By Michael Posner

At best, President Ronald Reagan's politics on black issues and civil rights are often considered lame-duck, at worst, they are characterized as destructive of black Americans' hard-won achievements. But last week, while the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) assailed the administration in New Orleans, the president moved on two fronts to disarm his critics. First, the Justice department filed suit against Alabama, charging the state with maintaining separate black and white public colleges. Then, Reagan sent to Congress a proposal "to put red teeth" into the Fair Housing Act. If adopted, the bill would allow Attorney General William French Smith to combat discriminatory housing practices with fines of up to \$50,000.

As with other contentious issues—namely education, arms control and social security—the president's civil rights initiatives are aimed less at winning converts than at neutralizing the opposition. With the U.S. economy picking up steam, Reagan's most vulnerable point may be his perceived lack

of fairness to blacks, Hispanics and women. If he announces his bid for reelection in the fall, as is widely expected, Reagan will doubtless mount a concerted campaign to defuse the fairness issue.

For the moment, it is clear that the U.S. black leadership is not being swayed. Addressing the NAACP's 74th annual convention last week, Executive Director Benjamin Hooks warned that black voters would vote against Reagan unless his policies changed. And that threat is more meaningful this year, because the organization, along with Rev Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, is seeking to add millions of new black voters to voting rolls.

Next month, following the Underwood Railroad trial and by southern slaves more than a century ago in their quest for freedom, the NAACP will sponsor a 576-km march from Kentucky to Michigan. By the fall of 1984 the group hopes to register almost two million new black voters, many of them in northern states. Said Joseph Madison, the association's director of voter education: "Northern voter apathy is far greater than southern voter apathy." But Madison ridiculed the idea of blacks

nominating their own presidential candidate—a plan favored by other black leaders. "If the biggest boss that's been pulled on black folks that I can think of," he said, "the only reason it had received so much attention, he added, "is because you have probably six of the dumbest, most unattractive white candidates that the Democratic party has ever run for president."

Predictably, the New Orleans collective was not impressed by last week's Reagan administration civil rights efforts. The desegregation suit against Alabama, said NAACP general counsel Thomas Atkins, is neither granitic nor voluntary. The courts had already ordered the state to desegregate its system of public colleges. When the deadline for compliance passed, the justice department was obliged to sue. Reagan's fair housing legislation, Atkins claimed, was merely a response to the NAACP's suit against the department of housing and urban development (HUD), for failing to enforce fair housing laws in Boston. "The administration feigns concern of colored and widows they could jump out of and they simply had to act," added Atkins.

A coalition of 125 civil rights groups

already had attacked the president's fair housing proposal as inadequate. Under current law, HUD mediates cases of alleged housing discrimination, but the justice department can go to court only when a pattern of bias has been found. The president's proposal would permit HUD to refer unresolved complaints to the justice department, with recommendations for a financial penalty or a court injunction. But the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights contends that the administration's plan would lead to "costly, lengthy and inefficient" lawsuits that would clog the courts. The conference has backed pending congressional bills opposed by the justice department that would create a panel of administrative law judges to hear complaints and order solutions.

Another presidential initiative that provoked controversy last week was Reagan's choice of three Democrats to fill vacancies on the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. The vacancies were created when Reagan fired commissioners who did not share his views on court-ordered busing and racial quotas in job selection. The Democrats, more than the credentials of the new appointees, came under fire at confirmation hearings before the Senate Judiciary committee. The NAACP and 129 other national organizations opposed the president's slate. But the group that spearheaded the drive for black civil rights in the 1960s is itself increasingly under attack. A power struggle between Hooks and board of directors Chairman Margaret Bush Wilson has caused national embarrassment. More critically, the NAACP's core membership is aging and impoverished that it is launching an emergency 36-city drive for funds.

In New Orleans, meanwhile, the NAACP welcomed five would-be Democratic candidates for president and the current Oval Office incumbent. Four Democrats received "B's" for their voting records on civil rights: former vice-presidents Walter Mondale and Bernardine Schirer, Alaska Governor and Gary Hart. Another contender, Senator Ross Perot, drew an "F"—the same grade given to Reagan, who drew only eight per cent of the black vote in 1980. Defending the administration, Vice President George Bush said the organization's critics "are the Reagan's police were 'dead wrong.' Bush was given credit for his courage, but his speech was frequently interrupted by boos. Whether or not the president can significantly improve his ratings remains a doubtful prospect. The real test will come, however, in whether Reagan's efforts to attract black voters will be convincing enough to keep them from massive protest at the polls.

POLAND

An exercise in symbolism

In the run-up to Pope John Paul II's June visit, Poland's military government indicated that martial law might be lifted on July 22, the country's national holiday. If the officers believed themselves last week, whether as a reward for good conduct during the papal tour or as a result of a secret deal with the Pope, the authorities seemed poised to lower their pledge. In all likelihood, the Polish parliament (Sejm) will meet this week to announce a date for a formal end to army rule and an amnesty for several hundred dissidents jailed for martial law offenses. The timing of the announcement—July 22 marks the liberation of part of eastern Poland from German occupation in 1944—was clearly designed to achieve symbolic impact. But the practical effects may also be more symbolic than real.

Slowing or suspending martial law, the Sejm gave a first reading to four amendments to the constitution giving a civilian government wider powers—including the right to declare a state of emergency and retain emergency powers—to deal with internal unrest. Parliamentary sources said that once the Sejm had approved the provisions at a two-day session starting July 20, head of state Henryk Jablonski would announce the lifting of martial law. The Sejm also has ordered the passage of an amnesty decision. The all-powerful Polish Communist Party's Politburo endorsed the lifting of the remaining restrictions imposed on Dec. 13, 1981 (known restrictions were eased last December). The U.S. state department, informed by Warsaw that military rule was in its last days, indicated that Washington might see restrictions dropped in opposition to international law if the Polish authorities released a significant number of political prisoners.

Whether martial law is repealed or not, Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski's harsh "military council of national salvation" will already have lasted three months longer than the 16-month "Solidarity" era, which brought an unprecedented relaxation of Communist rule. Jaruzelski's attempt to reverse that process blew out the fuse of at least 20 protest strikes of civil disobedience with security forces. Roughly 31,000 supporters of the Solidarity trade union have been interned at one time or another, and 4,000 people have been jailed

for infringing martial law regulations. The government statistics that only about 700 are still behind bars put official U.S. sources, charging that many political offenders had been listed as common-law criminals, put the figure closer to 4,000.

The suspension of martial law at the end of 1982 meant that many of the provisions—dealing with the distribution of anti-government leaflets and public disorder—were transferred to the nation's penal code. The Sejm last week carried that process a step further, severely limiting the real effect of any relaxation. For the Polish people the sole tangible gains may be limited to the right, once again, to hold public meetings without first obtaining official permission and wider freedom to travel abroad. A return to civilian rule would also mean the return to barracks of the army "commissars," who have monitored working efficiency in Poland.



Jaruzelski: martial law's lifting will have little effect

However, any amnesty is unlikely to apply to the 12 leading activists who face charges of plotting to overthrow the state. Western observers in Warsaw said the regime might defer a decision on when to bring them to trial in order to keep their followers from demonstrating. But that would be the limit of official generosity. The strains of jailed activists remain symbols of the nation as a whole. Even without martial law, the Polish people will still be the hostages of their rulers.

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels



Tending the wounded in Paris' Only Airport the latest episode in a long blood feud

FRANCE

Terror in an airport lineup

The scene at Paris' Orly Airport was one of happy summer holiday chaos. As the first call came for Turkish Airlines flight 808 to Istanbul, a crowd of Turkish migrant workers with their families besieged the check-in counter, clashing their bagging suitcases. Then chaos turned to tragedy. At the head of the jostling lineup, a bomb concealed in a valise exploded, sending an orange fireball racing through the waiting passengers. There were killed instantly, and others died within hours. Of the 60 injured, a further six were burned so badly that doctors gave them little chance of survival. Said a shaken airport policeman: "People were terrified. I have never seen so much blood in my life."

Responsibility for the bombing was quickly claimed by the Armenian Secret Army for the Liberation of Armenia (ASALA), a shadowy anti-Turkish movement that has carried out a wave of terrorist strikes in recent years. Only 26 hours earlier, in an attack that closely resembled last year's murder of Turkey's military attaché in Ottawa, Asil Agha, an ASALA gunman had struck in Brussels. The victim there was a 39-year-old Turkish diplomat, shot dead as he stepped into his car in a residential street of the Belgian capital. Not only that, but in Los Angeles last week Armenian businessman Victor Galabian was killed by a bomb that exploded in his car. Police said that the murder had political overtones, and the FBI announced the formation of an anti-terrorism squad for next year's Olympics in

the city. An FBI spokesman said that the prevention of an Armenian terrorist strike was a high priority.

The outrage at Orly was the latest attack in the Armenian militants' campaign to wreak revenge on Turkey for the massacre of more than one million fellow countrymen in 1915 and to obtain an Armenian homeland in eastern Turkey. Nearly 40 people—mostly Turkish diplomats—have been murdered since 1979. Turkish diplomats said that the bombing might have been timed to coincide with the July 24 anniversary of the Treaty of Lausanne, which in 1922 provided a decision to grant Armenia a republic in Anatolia following the breakup of the Ottoman Empire.

French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy promised that the government would do all it could to arrest those responsible for the "blind act of terrorism." "One theory was that the bomb, a sophisticated explosive device strapped to a suitcase cylinder, may have exploded prematurely, hitting its carrier, a young man in jeans with no identification. Police thought that the bomber might have intended it to explode once the aircraft had departed with a scheduled 107 passengers.

But that was little comfort to the relatives of the dead and injured or to worried security officials in Europe and North America. With the anniversary of the Armenians' extermination still days away, the ASALA campaign could become even more savage.

—PATRICK LEMAY in Brussels, with David Kline in San Francisco

HONG KONG

Resolving an ownership issue

When British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher met Chinese Premier Deng Xiaoping, vice-chairman, Deng Xiaoping, to discuss the political and economic future of Hong Kong last September, neither leader seemed prepared to compromise. During try exchanges in Peking's Great Hall of the People, Deng declared that China intends to regain sovereignty over the British outpost in 1997, when the lease to most of the colony expires. If an agreement on the territory was not reached by the end of 1984, Deng threatened, China would impose its own solution. Far from that, Thatcher was equally explicit. She conceded Peking's claim to Hong Kong's New Territories, leased from China in 1898. But she insisted that the remainder of the colony, including Hong Kong Island and Kowloon peninsula, had been ceded to Britain indefinitely. As talks on Hong Kong's future resumed in Peking

last week, however, there were signs that both sides had adopted a more conciliatory approach.

Last month Thatcher wrote to Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang, conceding that Britain would discuss Peking's view of the sovereignty issue. That move apparently surprised the Chinese, who had expected, and Hong Kong's governor, Sir Edward Youde, later commented that the two countries had reached "a better understanding of each other's positions." That impression was strengthened after last week's talks. A joint statement said that the two sides had held "constructive talks" and would meet again on July 25.

At the same time, Chinese leaders have been providing subtle hints about their current view of the colony's future. Peking apparently wants Hong Kong to be transformed into a special administrative region run by its own

local inhabitants. Hong Kong would retain its capitalist system, including for currency, and continue to be administered under the British legal code. There have even been rumors of a lengthy period of transition, stretching beyond the 1997 deadline.

The two sides are under pressure to produce a settlement soon. Since Thatcher's meeting with Deng, the volatile Hong Kong stock markets have fluctuated wildly. The local dollar has lost 16 per cent of its value, while its worth as \$5 million (U.S.) has been transferred abroad or into foreign currency accounts. The situation improved marginally in advance of the new round of negotiations. But the confidence of the colony's entrepreneurs and financiers had been shaken severely. Most of them would be willing to accept a transfer of sovereignty to Peking. But in return they want London to continue to administer Hong Kong under the present system of government. Many are convinced Communist officials would make a poor administrator. Says shop executive Frank Cho, who led China 34 years ago when Mao Tse-tang's victorious army converged on Shanghai: "We are quite prepared to gather up our staff and get out again."

Indeed, there has already been a surge of interest in migration to the West. Some Western consultants reported that applications for citizenship were up by as much as 50 per cent since Thatcher's Peking visit. However, Peking has compelling reasons to compromise. China gives up to 40 per cent of its foreign currency through trading activity in Hong Kong, as well as much of the securities and insurance it desperately needs to achieve its ambitious modernization goals. Hong Kong's anxious business and professional communities are hoping that these facts, coupled with Britain's new flexibility over the issue of sovereignty,

will produce an acceptable agreement. But still on one side, the Chinese are hoping to bridge their bet and their multibillion-dollar investments.

—BRIAN JEFFRIES in Hong Kong



Thatcher, Youde, pressure for a settlement



Japan's Self Defense Force on parade; the 'was hedgerow' will 'look like a lion'

JAPAN

The rough road to rearmament

The Japanese cabinet last week agreed to increase defense spending by 6.5 per cent next year, the largest hike since the Second World War. But the decision is likely to prove unpopular on two counts: domestic critics of the country's rearmament drive will argue that Japan is spending too much on defense, while other programs are being slashed, and the increase will likely disappoint Washington, which wants Tokyo to play a much larger part in its own defense. Michael's Press Contributing Editor Peter C. Newman recently returned from Tokyo and told this amount of the ongoing debate.

The headquarters of Japan's Self Defense Agency—the world's eighth most powerful military machine—is based in a handsome building in Tokyo's Roppongi district. Among the chic boutiques, it looks unworldly, an impression heightened by the appearance and bearing of its occupants. The visitor feels he has wandered into a convention of small-town sportsmen.

Appearances are deceptive. But there is nothing accidental about the setting. The Self Defense Agency's planned expansion, and even its existence, is highly controversial. Indeed, it is probably the most self-deprecating military arm in the free world.

After a great deal of anti-testing, it was allowed the rare privilege of an appointment with Gen. Susano Murai, chairman of the Joint Staff Council and the highest-ranking Japanese currently

in uniform. The warning that everything he might tell me would be of the recent proved unnecessary—he revealed little worth reporting. I had been briefed that he spoke an English, as we sat there amiably trading platitudes through a female interpreter. I asked her if the general would mind if I took off my jacket, since the Japanese defense budget does not provide air conditioning. "Sure, go ahead," he shot back before the interpreter could relay the message. The general, it seemed, had taken precautions against giving anything away—in either language.

The reason for his reticence (in his venerable Japanese tank) is that law for and how fast Japan should increase its military might is one of the hottest issues in Asia. The debate will get even fiercer as Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone carries out his stated intention of "creating an army, navy and air force which can defend our country on our own."

Immediately after their Second World War defeat, the Japanese accepted a constitution which forbore the threat of use of force as a means of settling international disputes. "Nearly four decades later, without any change in that document, the islands have more than a quarter of a million men and women under arms and a five-year plan to add 1,000 tanks, 200 jet fighters and 50 warships to the arsenal. By 1990, Japan will rank behind only the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain and France in its military capabilities. And, if pressure from Washington succeeds

In finding even greater defense expansion to NATO levels, Japan would very quickly reach third place, becoming another (though not nuclear) military superpower.

Until recently, the defence debate in Japan was comparatively low-key. Former prime minister Zenko Suzuki largely resisted U.S. demands that Japan should accept a bigger share of the burden of keeping the Soviets at bay. His successor, Suzuki's son-in-law, wanted to be "a wise hedgehog," not "a roaring lion."

The atmosphere changed after Suzuki was succeeded by Nakasone last November. Nakasone promised on his first visit to Washington to make Japan "an inseparable strategic partner" against Soviet air power in the Far East and to blockade the Soviet Pacific fleet in its own ports. Earlier this year, Nakasone visited the capitals of six Asian neighbours, trying to reassure them that his military intentions were strictly defensive in nature. The tour was a success, but Philippine vice-president Ferdinand Marcos portrayed the source of Asia's continuing conflict in dealing with Japan. "The unspoken feeling of most countries in Southeast Asia," Marcos said, "has always been that what Japan failed to get during the war, she has succeeded in obtaining by economic conditions."

Nakasone has openly allied himself with Japan's military traditions. He is the first prime minister since the war to visit in his official capacity the Yasukuni Shrine, where the country's military dead are venerated. He has even dispatched his foreign minister Shintaro Abe, to hold strategic talks at NATO headquarters in Brussels, and he caused an uproar at home by signing Japan with NATO policies at the Williamsburg summit in May. "We have become conscious that we need a global rather than regional approach to dealing with the Soviet Union," declared foreign ministry expert Yoshiaki Kato.

It is not clear to what extent Nakasone is following his own inclination in giving Japan a higher military profile. Washington has shifted strongly for such a policy ever since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. But earlier, the U.S. defeat in Vietnam and the withdrawal of some U.S. ground forces from South Korea prompted the Japanese themselves to reassess Washington's dependability as an Asian ally.

The Americans still maintain an imposing armada in the Pacific (520 ships and 1,800 aircraft), but the balance of power has been changing. At the start of the 1970s the United States and the Soviet Union each had fleets of a million tons in the area. Now, the Americans have only 600,000 tons, and the So-

viets have a 1.5-million ton fleet.

The defence of their sea lanes is a real concern to the Japanese. All of their oil and most of their raw materials are imported. So huge is their maritime trade that it employs one-fifth of the world's merchant shipping. Without freedom of the seas, the Japanese economy would grind to a halt within a month.

Japanese public opinion has been hardening on the issue in one recent poll, 71 per cent of respondents approved of the Self Defense Force's existence, though only 50 per cent declared their willingness to join it if Japan were invaded by a foreign country. That attitude is in sharp contrast to the one which existed a few years ago, when there was so much public resistance to Japan's new military forces that the children of its members were ostracized at school and its officers did not dare wear uniforms outside their barracks.

The main reason for the change is a series of threatening moves from the Kremlin. Moscow has flatly refused to return the northern Japanese islands it occupied in 1945, and it has based eight battalions of 50-200 missiles pointed at Asia (306 at last count and soon to be doubled). The Soviets are building a second Siberian railway to expand their country's military capabilities eastward, and the Japanese defence experts estimate that 135 Soviet submarines

are now stationed in Vladivostok.

These and other less overt moves have had the effect of making Japanese opinion to the defence buildup, even by left wingers. Even the Japan Socialist Party, which officially advocates "unarmed neutrality," concedes that Japan has a right to defend itself. The speed with which Japan rearmes will depend on when Nakasone decides to break the barrier of limiting military spending to one per cent of the country's GNP, the ceiling set by the Japanese Diet in 1976. The 1983 defence budget of \$4.8 billion (U.S.) takes the total to 0.98 per cent—an increase of 6.8 per cent from 1982. The budget figures are not precise because they leave out a lot of indirect military spending. Among other things, the Japanese government contributes an annual \$1 billion to provide free buses and housing for 60,000 U.S. troops stationed on the islands. Japan's army stands at 180,000 men and 800 tanks, its navy at 43,000 men and 48 destroyers and its air force at 60,000 men and 220 combat planes. All three forces are being expanded, at a cost of \$70 billion, by 1991.

Japan's defence production has grown twice as fast as manufacturing in general over the past five years, with procurement of new military hardware climbing at 15 per cent a year. Most of that growth takes place under the an-



Photo: AP/Wide World

Nakasone: allied with military traditions

nelia of a recent agreement with Washington which provides for the sharing of military technology. The Mitsubishi factories that churned out 17,500 Zero fighters and bombers during the last war now make the sophisticated McDonnell Douglas F-16 jet fighters. One Japanese invention is the new shore-to-ship missile. Designed to be fired from trucks hidden behind mountains, the projectiles can sink warships over an unusually long range and are specially programmed to skip over their protective hulls.

Japanese destroyers now roam the Pacific and have held exercises with Canadian warships. In at least one case, their leaders exchanged not only expertise but etiquette. During a recent visit to Esquimaut, B.C., Rear Admiral Gordon Edwards, in charge of Canada's West Coast maritime operations, went fishing with Rear Admiral Genji Tanaka, commander of the Japanese squadron. They caught nothing, but, to make the visitor feel better, his Canadian host presented him with a huge forest salmon. Then, to prevent any loss of face, Edwards extended Tanaka in front of his officers as a great fisherman. The next day the Japanese admiral was duly appreciative, but he admitted to Edwards that his men had expressed curiosity over how such a stiff fish could swim even in Canada's cold waters. ☐

The Pacesetter

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Producer **David Suskind**, 62, is seldom at a loss for words. But since he discovered that his wife of 30 years, **Jean Suskind**, is divorcing him for oral and sexual treatment, he has had nothing to say—at least, not publicly. The Saskatoon-born Davidson, 59, who has hosted CTV's *Jager Davidson Show* since 1974, was only slightly more forthcoming: "It is all too painful and personal. I will talk about it when my period of mourning is over." Three years ago the pair were touted as an ideal match when they visited Toronto's annual film festival to promote a Suskind-backed film, *Love's Complex*. Suskind said then that he owed the success of his marriage to his "sublime techniques" for seducing. But he also confessed that he neglected Davidson. Ironically, he predicted that "the 1980s are going to be a time of rising divorce expectations. You will have to guess as to who will begin." To compensate for unfulfilled expectations, Davidson is suing Suskind for \$5,127 a week, exclusive occupancy of their Park Avenue apartment and \$50,000 in interim lawyer's fees.

Country and western singer **Johnny Cash**, 43, may soon be better known in Japan as a movie star. The versatile American performer was in British Columbia recently, playing the part of a Canadian fur trader in a Japanese film production, *Kurosawa* (Adrift at Sea). Cash, dark hair combed white, plays **John McLaughlin**, the Hadson's Bay Co.

Cash finding that old-time religion



Davidson and Suskind. Dubious love-making or cruel and dehuman treatment?

trader who in the 1830s bought three enslaved Japanese from West Coast Indians and initiated their conversion to Christianity. The site of the trading post is Fort Langley National Historic Park near Vancouver. The \$5-million project, based on a popular Japanese novel, was financed by the **Billy Graham Evangelical Association**, and Graham himself recruited the Nashville singer for the role. Cash agreed to take the part because he liked the film's strong Christmas message. "I am a professed Christian and I hope that the spirit, joy and peace of my religion is reflected in my life and in my work."

The word around Ottawa this month is that **Margaret Trudeau** will be married in the fall, this time to Ottawa realtor **Road Hammer**, 34, a good-time bachelor's bachelor. Friends say that Maggie—formerly separated from Prime Minister **Pierre Trudeau** for years in November—plans to end her controversial first marriage. She has long since abandoned jet-set affairs with the likes of film star **Ryan O'Neal** for someone she describes as having his "feet on the ground." Acquaintances say that Margaret and Kemper have already picked a ring and are planning a quick wedding. And rumors of pending nuptials have further fueled speculation that Trudeau's retirement is imminent. There is talk in television circles that Margaret is considering leaving her Ottawa job as cohost of the CBC daytime talkshow *Morning Magazine*

for a similar position three days a week in Montreal—close enough to visit Jean, Susan and Susan when their father moves into his Westmount mansion. GLOBE Executive Producer **John Haskay** says that he wants Margaret on air next season but he acknowledges, "It's premature to say whether she will be back." And Margaret is not talking. "It's none of your business," she said.

A Canadian diplomat tells it, he was riding in an elevator with a stranger who every few seconds fixed him with a long, penetrating stare. Finally, as the ride ended, the stranger turned to Taylor

and said: "I know who you are. You're **Quentin Tarantino**." That, Taylor told a National Press Club audience in Washington last week, is one of the perils of celebrity—being mistaken for the actor who portrayed him in *Escape from Alcatraz*. The Canadiana drama chronicled how in 1960 Taylor and his Canadian Embassy colleagues led an U.S. diplomatic team for 56 days and helped them flee the country. Taylor, a native of Calgary, abandoned his American life in 1962. Now Canada's consul-general in New York, 58-year-old Taylor is frequently asked to parlay his intense fame into political dividends by running for Parliament. His response? "I have no current plans to seek public office." That reaction may also reflect his realization that fame is fleeting: The Press Club was hard-pressed to attract 80 guests, half its capacity. ☐



Trudeau wedding bells?

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Ostry, van Lennep: I had been put on this big international stage, and I was a bit of a wide awakie!

BUSINESS

Ottawa preserves the Ostry mystery

By Marcel McDonald

For a fundraiser charged with charting the future of Western world's economies, the situation could hardly have been more embarrassing. Preceding ever her final press conference as chief economist for the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in Paris last week, Sylvia Ostry was characteristically frank on every question but one: the mystery as to which she has been forced to wrap her own future. "It's not that I refuse to answer," she said ruefully. "It's that I can't. The announcement has to come from the government." But Ottawa sources told Maclean's that the announcement is unlikely to be made before the end of the year, when Ostry is expected to be named deputy minister of international trade, replacing Robert Johnson, as part of the continuing shuffle of chairs in the external affairs department.

If Ostry's posting is a natural sequel to her past 24 years in one of the key jobs on the international economics stage, the secrecy surrounding her next move threatens to pose awkward questions for the government of Ostry's old friend, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. Her fans and critics alike were puzzled that, while she will return to Canada on Aug. 1, her new duties were not divided

in time for the top civil service shuffle earlier this month. The delay, which could leave Ostry in limbo for as long as five months—possibly forced to take a sabbatical at the University of Toronto on full deputy minister's pay—threatens to make her homecoming as controversial as her departure.

Handpicked by then Secretary-General Rolf Lenz to head the key economics and statistics department of the 24-member organization, she left the chairmanship of the Economic

In a stormy tenure at the OECD, Ostry overcame hostility caused by her sex and her ideas for change

Council of Canada at the end of 1979 dogged by rumors that she was being forced out of Ottawa as the first victim on then Prime Minister Joe Clark's hit list. When her husband, Bernard, as an ardent veteran of Ostry's machinations, joined her in Paris on a special mission to study European telecommunications networks, the intimacies turned to outraged accusations of Liberal patronage.

Ostry leaves her \$75,000-a-year watchdog at the OECD, the World's main co-ordinator of economic policy, on the most optimistic note of her tenure. In her latest 18-month projections, last week she predicted that the current recovery will last through the end of 1984—in most robust form in the United States, more feebly in Europe. "But it would be folly to believe that many of the problems left behind would be solved by a recovery," she warned. High U.S. interest rates and a decline in investment outside the United States could rein in the general rebound. And if North American unemployment is expected to drop slightly, Europe's jobless rate is forecast to rise to 29.5 million by the end of next year, or nearly 11.5 per cent of the work force. In Canada, says Ostry, "there's been a remarkable, and belated, improvement in inflation. But the longer-term questions are still out there. There is a major debt problem. And the nation will still have very high unemployment."

That outlook is nevertheless warmer than the initial forecast Ostry provided over when she landed in Paris, alone, with rudimentary French and taking on a "sifting work load." Faced with playing currier of the worst recession in postwar economic history, she also had to confront a sensation that was alien to her meteoric 20-year rise

through the Ottawa public-service, the fear that she was suddenly out of her depth. "It was the on a job in my career I came the least prepared for," she admits. "Here I had been put on this big international stage, and it was a mark in my own situation."

Devising herself through 18-hour workdays and a crash course in global economics, Ostry shook up the OECD's stretched bureaucracy. "I was from the outside, I was the first North American in the job and I was female," she said. "For the first year there really was a lot of hostility." As one of her department directors, Kjell Anderson, readily acknowledged in a farewell speech last week, "The OECD has been hit by three shocks—the oil prices shock, the Thatcher-Reagan shock and the Ostry shock."

The impact included extending the OECD forecasting period from a year to 18 months to provide a longer-range outlook and publishing more of the organization's hitherto secret analyses. With entrepreneurial flair, Ostry began selling taped summaries of her department's predictions to affect expenses. More important, she is credited with steering the OECD away from theoretical research and into firmer policy-making waters from which governments could draw. "But I have been criticized as well as congratulated," she cautions. "Some people still maintain that the discussions are too detailed and technical."

Although she was tempted to stay on until the end of van Lennep's term next year, Ostry's return to Canada is a response to a more personal pull: the painful severed separation from her husband, a native Winnipeg schoolmaster, who moved back to Toronto last year to become Ontario's deputy minister of industry and tourism.

Despite her regret about leaving the international economic stage, her return to the nation's capital was inevitable. At 36 she was reluctant to abandon her federal pension rights and, as she puts it, "I certainly wouldn't want to become a permanent international bureau rat." You're a kind of impossible: you provide the stage and the backdrop, but at last you're still an observer." For an observed dove like Ostry, there are still things to be done in Ottawa, no matter how mysterious is holding herself to her OECD colleagues and the press at a spontaneous buffet she threw in the organization's gift chateau and, indeed, her own apartment. "I was going to say thank you for the Memory in a light-hearted acknowledgment of her own stormy tenure: "You might have been a headache but you have never been a bore." Ottawa's bureaucracy might also take that as advice warning ☐

Maislin's bid for survival

It was a spectacle that combined bitter job survival with the drama of corporate misfortune. Just 12 months after receiving an emergency \$34-million loan guarantee from the federal government, Montreal-based Mainline Industries Ltd. was back at the edge of bankruptcy last week. In a desperate bid to avoid collapse, Maislin, the eighth-largest trucking company in North America, sought a moratorium on debt payments to nine secured and approximately \$300 unsecured creditors until Oct. 31. In the meantime, Maislin hoped to start a new survival plan. The company, explained President Richard Stillingma, had "run out of cash for its operations."

That news sparked a week of turmoil at Maislin's truck terminals. The company would downsize its major North American operations and laid off but a few hundred of its 3,500 workers.

Montreal. And as the confusion increased, opposition was demanded a parliamentary inquiry into how the government got involved in the misadventure in the first place—especially since most of Maislin's employees work in the United States. Declared Conservative MP Richard Stevens: "It is not the role of the government to be giving guarantees same to a company in the trucking field, when it is clear that the company is in serious financial difficulty."

The immediate collapse of the Maislin empire, which includes five trucking operations in the United States, was staved off when Maislin filed for protection under Canadian and U.S. bankruptcy laws. Whether the company will stay in business will be decided at upcoming meetings where Maislin's creditors will consider the new survival plan.

Company documents show that state-



Idle Maislin's trucks in Toronto's principal truck and business thoroughfare

Owned employees of the main domestic subsidiary, Mainline Transport Ltd., formed picket lines at Ontario and Quebec terminals. One group in Montreal seized 25 trucks when they learned that their paycheques would not be honored, and late last week company vice-chairman and former president Alan Maislin resigned, saying he would lead the fight for employees' wages. That action came after the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce—Maislin's largest creditor, with \$38.8 million owing—moved to protect its interests by calling the loan. Further adding to the disaster, companies that had leased trucks to Maislin seized another 80 vehicles in

secured creditors, including a large number of suppliers in Canada, are owed \$18.2 million, while secured creditors are owed \$5.6 million. Next to the CIBC, the National Bank of Canada is the most exposed, with nearly \$7 million owed to it. Stillingma said that the company hopes to find "a viable solution to its financial difficulties" and hopes to be able to continue "to serve the Canadian and U.S. marketplace." Part of the survival plan will involve the sale of "all excess assets and selling stock." But with liabilities of \$98.3 million stacked against assets of \$75 million, Maislin has decidedly bleak prospects.

The chronic difficulties besetting

Maitlin, which once ruled the roads as Canada's largest transport company, began four years ago. In 1979 the company began an aggressive expansion into the United States. It bought two major trucking firms, Gateway Transportation Co. of La Crosse, Wis., and Quine Freight Lines Inc. of Brookfield, Mass. But the fortunes of those and three other subsidiaries ran up against high interest rates and the U.S. decision to deregulate the industry. Price cutting by competing firms, coupled with the impact of the recession, helped reverse Maitlin's losses to more than \$80 million (U.S.) in 1981 and 1982 combined. Losses were \$4 million (U.S.) in the first quarter of 1983. Maitlin was not alone in its difficulty. Deregulation in the U.S. threw \$80 U.S. trucking firms into bankruptcy, and many of the 300 largest firms are now operating in the red.

In an effort to bail out Maitlin—it employed 1,500 people in Canada, two-thirds of them in Montreal—the federal government stepped in to guarantee the \$34-million loan last July. In return for the bailout, Ottawa required Maitlin to respect its 80-and-five wage increase guidelines and demanded the right to put a representative on the board—an option that, as New Democratic Party House Leader Ian Blanes pointed out, had, inexplicably, not been exercised.

What is more, last week's developments reignited opposition charges that the government showed favoritism in bailing out Maitlin as the first place. As Revenue Minister Francis Fox announced plans to phase out \$8 million in postal subsidies for foreign magazines printed in Canada, in addition, officials in both capitals examined the likely effects of a preliminary ruling to the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that upheld a U.S. government complaint against Canada's Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA).

The dispute between U.S. border broadcasting stations and Ottawa started with a 1978 Canadian law that stopped Canadian firms from deducting the cost of advertising placed on U.S. shows beamed into Canada. Arguing that they are losing approximately \$30 million annually, 14 U.S. broadcasters lobbied Washington to enact "mirror" legislation, which would prevent American companies from claiming a tax deduction for advertising sold on Canadian border stations. Last week Washington complied, and the retaliatory legislation, drafted by the Office of Management and Budget, is to be sent to the Senate this week as part of an agreement to another tax bill that is already expected to pass. As a result, the new law could once again have an effect on the border.

—JAMES FLEMING in Toronto, with Anne Byrne in Montreal



Fox (left), U.S. Trade Representative William Brock, three cross-border disputes

Shouts across the border

In Ottawa and Washington last week there were fresh signs of mutual discontent. On Capitol Hill, the Reagan administration answered a rebroadcast article against Canada's long-standing tax law, which prevents Canadian firms from claiming advertising on U.S. television as a tax deduction. In Ottawa, Communications Minister Francis Fox announced plans to phase out \$8 million in postal subsidies for foreign magazines printed in Canada. In addition, officials in both capitals examined the likely effects of a preliminary ruling to the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that upheld a U.S. government complaint against Canada's Foreign Investment Review Agency (FIRA).

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—JAMES FLEMING in Toronto, with Anne Byrne in Montreal

about the Canadian proposal to drop subsidies that the communications department pays to Canada Post Corporation and 20 smaller U.S. magazines printed in Canada—including the Jewish's Witness periodicals Watchtower and Awake!—pay a preferential rate of 44 cents per copy, while 319 other foreign publications printed outside Canada pay 52 cents. Canadian magazines pay 42 cents. In 1982 alone, the federal communications department paid Canada Post \$50 million to cover the magazine subsidies. Ottawa, however, reportedly will continue its \$4-million subsidy to those magazines that will extend the 44-cent rate to Nouvembre, which just applied to print the U.S. edition in Canada. Despite that concession—and the fact that most nations do not subsidize foreign periodicals—there is little doubt that the phasing out of the subsidy will spark American ire.

The GATT decision provided further ammunition to "Canada-busters" last week. Although GATT defended Ottawa's right to set export conditions for foreign-owned companies based in Canada, the panel ruled that FIRA was breaking GATT agreements by requiring foreign firms to purchase materials from Canadian suppliers. The decision will go before the body's full 88-member council in October. Despite attempts by diplomats in both capitals last week to downplay the disputes, the snafus on both sides of the border had grown dangerously louder.

—SHONA MCKAY in Toronto, with William Leather in Washington

The \$152-million question

The document was unimpressive in scope and startling in its conclusions. But whether the Ontario government released the results of the eight-month long Morrison inquiry into the alleged financial misdeeds of the participants in the \$60-million flip of nearly 11,000 Toronto apartment units still is the reverberation of the affair were double-edged. The possibility of charges lay ahead and the Ontario government faced demands for an inquiry into the stewardship of the trust industry.

Consumer and Commercial Relations Minister Robert Ego clearly hoped

that the glossy, 243-page report by accountant James Morrison, would vindicate the government's actions. Ontario's first trust, which then found new owners for, several companies owned by the three financiers who orchestrated the flip of the Cadillac Fairview apartments. Looked at another way, Andrew Markie and William Player, Morrison partially fulfilled Ego's hopes and severely condemned the investors' actions in the deal, charging that they knowingly broke Ontario's Loan and Trust Corporations Act. Rosenberg, arguably, ignored this and other conclusions in the report as "assistance by the evidence." And in the wake of Morrison's report, there was continuing pressure on the government to hold a public inquiry into the whole affair, particularly since Morrison indirectly called into question the role of provincial regulators in failing to handle the alleged shenanigans in the first place.

Morrison's strongest charge was that the objective of the Cadillac Fairview transaction was to allow the three men to withdraw "primarily for their own purposes" the \$52 million that Bessinger's Crown Trust and Greylock Trust and Markie's Seaway Trust advanced in third mortgages to finance the deal. In the flip, Rosenberg bought the units for \$250 a unit, passed them to Player for \$312 a unit and he in turn sold them to Arab investors for \$506 million. Mor-

son said that the methods that the businessmen used "had developed to a routine over the previous two years." According to the report, that routine involved a maze of complex maneuvers. These apparently involved government regulators.

Equally troubling, the inquiry could not find a \$180-million down payment allegedly made by the apartments' foreign purchasers, wherever they were. Despite Player's previous claims that the money was deposited in a Cayman Islands bank, investigators could not find it. They discovered that the 40 numbered companies that were set up

to carry out the purchase of the apartments for the investors first borrowed \$700 million from a Cayman bank. The money was transferred in cheques to Kidderkin Investments Ltd., and owner Player immediately deposited them in 50 accounts in the same bank in the name of Kidderkin. Although the investors apparently used a \$200 million letter of credit to back up their legitimacy, the report concluded that the money was the ultimate purchasers, if any, at risk.

But Morrison also indirectly chastised the provincial regulators of loans and trust companies. Said Morrison: "A more aggressive approach by the Registrar [Murray Thompson] in dealing with also-operative management, would also seem to be appropriate."

The criticism now added impetus to calls for a full public inquiry into the government's handling of the affair. Demanding the resignation of both Ego and Thompson last week, Ontario Liberal Leader David Peterson charged that Morrison's report proves that the government was "asleep at the switch" in regulating the trust industry. While the government is unlikely to agree to such an inquiry, it will have a chance to make its case in court if civil or criminal charges are laid in the coming weeks. Judging from the seriousness of Morrison's allegations, that is almost a certainty.

—JAMES FLEMING



Morrison, serious allegations

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Volcker sticks to a steady course

The only real test that U.S. Federal Reserve Board Chairman Paul Volcker had to endure at the Senate banking committee last week came from the television lights. The hearing, called to weigh the banker's nomination to a second term by President Ronald Reagan, was uneventful—except for Volcker's surprise revelation that his may stop down well before his four-year second mandate expires. The lack of drama brought sighs of relief from the international financial community and calmed the markets. The future of U.S. monetary policy, Volcker's testimony was decidedly reassuring. Despite fears of a hike in interest rates in coming months, Volcker revealed that the Fed places no major moves to raise U.S. interest rates.

As the U.S. recovery gains momentum, the Fed has faced strong pressure from monetarist economists to slow the growth of the U.S. money supply in order to head off a new bout of inflation. But as Volcker's testimony last week indicated, the central bank, in fact, has simply applied the brakes gently by reducing the amount of private U.S. reserves available to bank new lending.

Still, Volcker must walk a tightrope between monetarist fears of renewed inflation and the potentially catastrophic effect of a shift to higher interest rates—the federal discount rate now stands at 8 1/2 per cent. His main goal—recovery with low interest rates and low inflation—was made virtually impossible by the \$200-billion-plus (U.S.) deficits expected over the next several years. The United States is borrowing \$750 million a day, Volcker warned. Congress last week "That is a lot of money to be taking out of the market." As recovery gains private borrowing, these enormous federal demands on available capital pressure to put upward pressure on interest rates and make Volcker's job even more difficult.

On one level, as former undersecretary of the treasury Charles Walker said last week, Washington's fixed chess has left monetary policy—Volcker's domain—"the only state in town." On the other hand, with a somewhat closer to a balanced budget, Volcker's policy choices amount to either "accommodating" what could become excessive inflationary pressures or imposing the sort of credit "restraint" that pushed the United States—and the world—into the 1981-82 recession. It is hardly surprising that Volcker, as he has not last week, may want to retire his personal burden.

—LEONARD GILYEN in New York City.

BUSINESS WATCH

Fishing for wealth in the oil pool

By Peter C. Newman

Brian Peckford may not be doing much for the business future of Newfoundland—but he has created a name economic miracle in Nova Scotia. The people of Nova Scotia are self-destructive, says Peckford, and for all, the issue about which Atlantic port will become the centre of the oil and natural gas play that, within a decade, could be larger than the North Sea.

Even a year ago, it was still an open question whether St. John's or Halifax would benefit most. Peckford's pre-views have now settled it: his province is being left out of the oil industry's long-term plans. It took the time to get some action in Atlantic going again. But now, significantly, the essential infrastructure—the pipelines, money, money, money, geologists—has been quietly moving out of St. John's to Halifax.

When Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan signed his agreement on offshore exploration early 1980, he was 55 years old. There was one rig drilling off Nova Scotia. Now there will be nine, and the companies involved—the big multi- and transnational set of Calgary, Houston and Dallas—have pledged to spend about \$10 billion over the next three years. Husky, Bow Valley, Shell and Mobil, as well as the Canadian Petroleum Association, have all recently opened major Halifax-based operations.

It's difficult to estimate just how large the rig-off will be. That a \$100-million drilling rig just launched by Saint John Shipbuilding had an 80-per-cent Canadian content factor might be one good indication. Writing in Atlantic Business magazine, Lynette Watkins estimated that just one new firm (the Venture structure of Sable Island) will have an eventual payout of \$45 billion by 2003. That would mean about \$22 billion flowing into Nova Scotia's treasury in royalties and taxes alone. The Venture project is one that's certain to go into production, but how many associated structures will yield marketable quantities of gas and how much oil can be produced has yet to be determined. Watkins predicts that this sea field will have a positive impact of \$1.1 billion a year on Canada's balance of trade with the United States.

About 2,000 jobs have already been created in and around Halifax, and engineers are currently planning how to bring the gas from Sable to the main-

land at Country Harbour Nise, N.S. It's not expected to be much of a technical problem because the route will follow a steady, ice-free trough on the ocean floor. The National Energy Board has assured the province that there will be no trouble with a gas export permit, but getting permission to sell energy south of the border is proving to be much tougher. Mobil, which leads the Sable syndicate, is already lobbying hard in Washington with the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission and other government agencies for an import permit, and two major U.S. distributors—New England States Pipeline and Tennessee Gas Commission—have applied for the distribution rights. Im-



Buchanan: gas and tidal power are

total shipments are expected to be 300 million cubic feet of gas per day. The State of Maine, for example, is expected to take five per cent of the load, with the pipeline running from Caledonia to Bar Harbor at the Bangor Island border and five taps available for local customers along the way.

Buchanan, who has personally been guiding the public sector's involvement in the offshore energy play, had a realistic supporting construction of the pipeline passed at the Atlantic province's meeting with the six New Brunswick state governors, held in Charlottetown June 19 to 21. Nothing is signed, but the market potential certainly exists. Approximately 87 per cent of all U.S. energy needs are now supplied by

natural gas, but in the northeastern states the proportion stands at less than 10 per cent. American Gas Society officials have assured Buchanan that New York state alone there are at least 20 million gas customers waiting to be connected. Some 26 major utility firms have already indicated that they want the Canadian product. Although Alberta natural gas is about \$1.30 per 1,000 cubic feet cheaper at the well-head, transmission costs to the northeast are no more than three times as high as from Nova Scotia.

"The market is there, and it's big," Buchanan told Maclean's. He has had to negotiate "all the way from Aberdeen" about the possibilities of founding a petroleum oil industry in Halifax, and should the oil be more than three times as high as from Nova Scotia.

Even during the recent recession Nova Scotia moved out fairly intact, with the fifth-lowest unemployment rate in the country, the lowest interest rate, and the lowest deficit ratio (the province's deficit totals \$284 million). Halifax is enjoying remarkable stability, and real estate prices are starting to climb in anticipation of the boom. There is a brisk trade in visiting fishermen. One of the city's most attractive hotels, the Burlington Inn, was built by the Delta chain three years ago at a cost of \$10.00 per room and is now making a very satisfactory return.

Buchanan is sitting pretty. The only one of the seven Canadian provincial leaders to support Brian Mulroney before the recent Tory convention and promising over a promise in which Mulroney has decided to seek a seat in Parliament, the Nova Scotia premier is sure to gain in national attention. "I've been in the industry for 17 years now," he says, "the Maritimes have been talking about tidal power. Well, now we've got it. Two months from now the first 450-million turbine will be opened at Annapolis Royal. Eventually there'll be 40 units generating 4,000 megawatts of electricity—North America's first tidal power project. No more talk. It's actually happening. Same with the offshore. For 12 years we talked about it, now we've got the reserves, and all that's left is to work out a few mechanics."

Unlike his hellfire neighbor, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia is perched in anticipation at the edge of the Atlantic, quietly gearing up for its role as money-maker.





COVER

The nation's new agony over abortion

In Winnipeg, where abortionist Dr. Henry Morgentaler faced criminal charges last week, the poster-torn signs for and against abortion were explicit: "Keep your laws off my body," said one. Responded another: "Baby butcher go home." In Regina hundreds of anti-abortion demonstrators, misled in effect, prosper through forcing individual discretion on the issue barely planned a national day of protest for Oct. 1. After a decade of relative calm, one of the nation's most divisive and bitter issues has erupted vehemently this summer, complete with bitter name-calling, death threats and a display of moral righteousness on all sides.

In a rare outburst of moral outrage, Canadians everywhere are taking a stand on the rights and wrongs of having an abortion. In Winnipeg and Toronto Morgentaler defiantly opened two abortion clinics to test the federal abortion law. Police promptly raided the clinics, seized equipment and files, and charged Morgentaler and several of his staff with conspiring to procure an abortion. Each raid was followed by demonstrations and counter-demonstrations as pressure groups sought to sway public support. At the

same time, in three courts beachmark trials were under way, pitting the rights of the unborn against the rights of the mother and testing the constitutionality of the contentious 1986 federal abortion law. On shop floors, in schoolhouses and at political meetings across the nation, abortion was no longer being treated as a marginal—if highly volatile—issue. Indeed, prominent Canadians were making their difficult choice public. Dalhousie University social philosopher and author George Grant, for one, is opposed to abortion. "I take it that the fetus is human," he explained. "Women don't give birth to rats. By having an abortion, you denigrate the sacredness of human life." Broadcaster and writer Jane Caloway was proudly in favor of a woman's right to choose, "primarily because of having wasted children." Added Caloway: "It was such a pleasure to become a mother voluntarily. To have a child you do not want is not the ideal experience."

At the centre of the rancorous national debate in Morgentaler, a Polish-born Jewish immigrant and a determined, self-appointed champion of abortion on request. In 1975 Morgentaler became famous around the world when he spent 18 months in jail after opening an abortion clinic in Montreal

in defiance of the law. Tried and acquitted three times, he went to prison when a Quebec court of appeal, at one point, reversed an acquittal—a precedent in Canadian legal history.

But Morgentaler had effectively won abortion on request for women in Quebec and, after being released from jail, he returned to his practice. Since then his clinic has performed as many as 50 abortions a week. Morgentaler uses a suction curettage technique which involves withdrawing, under vacuum pressure, the fetus and the lining of the uterus. Morgentaler's 30-minute operation is performed with a local anesthetic. Indeed, Morgentaler became such a respected expert in Quebec that three years ago the provincial government asked him to train doctors in his technique for use in the province's community health clinics, where many abortions are now performed. Morgentaler has already trained 12 doctors.

Despite his rocky court battles, Morgentaler went on to become wealthy, with an estimated yearly income of \$100,000 and considerable real estate holdings in Montreal. By the early 1980s, married for a second time and with a young son, Morgentaler finally seemed to have found an oasis of calm in his life (page 38).

Opponents, but just fell the McGill-trained physician purposefully threw himself back into the abortion fray. Even though he had won the battle in Quebec, he faced daily reminders that women in many parts of Canada still could not get an abortion. Under the liberalized 1986 law, women could undergo the operation if their health was endangered and then only with the approval of a special therapeutic abortion committee set up in an accredited hospital. But the reality was that in deeply religious parts of the country, such as the Atlantic provinces or rural areas where community pressure was strongly anti-abortion, hospitals often refused to set up committees. Even when committees existed, hospitals sometimes set quotas on the number of abortions that could be performed (page 39). "Women are suffering," Morgentaler told Maclean's last week just before he flew to Winnipeg to face the charges. "They are travelling, snarling around across the country. They come to Montreal or go to the United States or maybe, in desperation, shoot themselves or go to some clinic." Morgentaler says that he was moved by the hundreds of letters sent to him by women who needed help. One Ottawa woman who had undergone an abortion at the Montreal clinic wrote to tell him about a friend who had visited a backstreet abortionist 30 years before. "When I told her of the kindness and warmth that surrounded me at your clinic," the letter declared, "she said she

felt some of her suffering had been alleviated."

Morgentaler's critics suspect his motives, however. According to friends and foes, Morgentaler thrives on notoriety and a high public profile. Green Landolt, a Toronto lawyer for Campaign Life, a national anti-abortion group, said: "He is not the handsome man in the world and he probably loves all those women flocking to him. Besides that, he likes money. He is a tradesman." Cautious July Robb, a spokeswoman for Morgentaler's Toronto clinic: "He is a wealthy man, but as a committed feminist if I thought he was doing this for the money—making money off the backs of women—I would not be around, and neither would anyone else."

When Morgentaler re-entered the abortion debate, the opposition in his position had hardened noticeably. The anti-abortion forces had gained strength and momentum as dozens of

groups organized across the country and started to exert influence. Critics say that the anti-abortionists severely inflated their estimates of numbers of followers and the amount of their public funding. But they have clearly become both vocal and visible.

Pressure Campaign Life is the political wing of the anti-abortion movement and is headed by Kathleen Tuck, an Edmonton medical technologist. Group members attend all-scientists meetings and attempt to pin down politicians on their abortion views. In Manitoba the League for Life, headed by Patricia Sorens, a Roman Catholic registered nurse, claims to have 3,000 members. Along with an active newspaper ad campaign, the league recently sent a telegram to which featured a doctor explaining the development of the fetus. Said Sorens: "It was convinced that if people saw what the unborn was, people would not destroy it."

The most disruptive hospital fight took place in Moncton last summer, where a determined effort by the local Right to Life Association forced doctors to suspend abortions for six months. Gynecologists at the Moncton General most active in pressuring hospitals to limit therapeutic abortion committees. British Columbia, which has the highest abortion rate in the country, has been the scene of several attempts by anti-abortion activists to control hospital boards in the past few years. In North Vancouver two anti-abortion advocates have brought a legal suit against Luen's Gate Hospital, charging that its interpretation of "health" is judging a woman's need for an abortion too liberal. The hospital's society, an independent non-profit group, will spend about \$90,000 defending the hospital committee, according to the society's past chairman, Ken Bruce.

The most disruptive hospital fight took place in Moncton last summer, where a determined effort by the local Right to Life Association forced doctors to suspend abortions for six months. Gynecologists at the Moncton General

Toronto demonstration and (facing page) Morgentaler in his Montreal office last week: he seemed to have found an oasis of calm





Borowski in Winnipeg: 'The power and persuasion of the media and the church'

COVER

Hospital regularly received letters describing them as "murderers" and "fascists," and the hospital itself was labelled an "abattoir." The group claims to have nine chapters and 1,000 members. Last year its Montreal office had two full-time employees and a budget of about \$70,000. The issue has so alarmed the province's political community that last September, when it became known that the group was sponsoring a \$30-a-plate roast for Senator Louis Robichaud as a fund raiser, several politicians and local radio guests suddenly declined their invitations. The Montreal General Hospital did refuse operations last December, but just before it did so, the anti-abortion group ran an 18-page newspaper supplement containing the names of 33,000 New Brunswickers opposed to abortion.

Dr. Carl Robitkin, medical administrator of the Health Sciences Centre in St. John's, reflected the concerns felt by many hospital staffs trying to cope with the conflicting wishes of their clients. "Right now I interpret them [the views of the community] as being fairly restrictive...that's not saying that I agree with that." In St. John's, a staunchly Roman Catholic city, the Daily News regularly refers to abortion as its true culprits as "murders."

The anti-abortion forces have been greatly strengthened by the emergence of their own crusader, Joseph Borowski, 48, known as "Telly Joe." An outspoken former Manitoba cabinet minister, he has dedicated himself zealously to eradicating abortion. A former NDP cabinet

minister, Borowski, once described himself as having "the power and persuasion of the media and the religious fanatic." A devout Catholic, Borowski has indeed been determined in his quest—what he describes as "a Nuremberg-like aversion to stop the Margaret Thatcher shops." Now a health-care store owner in Winnipeg, Borowski has fought for the past five years to clear legal and financial obstacles in order to challenge the constitutionality of the federal abortion law in the Saskatchewan Court of Queen's Bench.

Winnipeg Last May, Borowski launched the first round of that legal action in Regina, when he flew medical experts in from around the world to argue that an unborn fetus is a human being. So far, his case has cost \$200,000, but many say his quest is difficult for Borowski. Through speaking engagements and donations, he is well financed. "We raised more than \$300,000 in two months and already had \$400,000 in the bank," he said. At one speech to the Knights of Columbus, a Borowski told for \$2,000 to a number of the audience. "Not even Trudeau could get that price for a tin," he declared. In April, Borowski also received \$10,000 from the Toronto Roman Catholic diocese's St. Vincent's fund, a little-publicized gift from a special cash reserve donated specifically for his court battle.

With Mangatler and Borowski now spearheading the opposition forces, the abortion fight has taken on a heightened and extraordinary Winnipeg's Winnipeg clinic had been open only four weeks,

under the careful eyes of an anti-abortion vigil, when police raided it, arresting Mangatler and fellow doctor Robert Rossi and changing them and five others with charges of aiding and abetting an abortion. In Toronto, where Mangatler opened another clinic even though he was facing charges in Winnipeg, anti-Jewish graffiti appeared on the front of the Toronto clinic, situated in a Portuguese and predominantly Roman Catholic district near the University of Toronto. In one incident, a man brandishing a gun attempted to attack Mangatler as the doctor was paying a visit to the clinic. Said July Rehak, who intervened and pushed the attacker away: "I don't think the anti-abortion organizations are anti-Semitic to themselves. But they are the kind of hysterical, chaotic, where confusion comes out of the woodwork."

A police raid on the Toronto clinic on July 7 touched off the greatest outpouring of emotion among the pro-life faction. Twenty days after the clinic opened, two police officers pulled officers, a man and a woman, visited the office, pretended to set up an appointment for an abortion, then raised the premises. Charges were once again laid against Mangatler, Rossi, and Dr. Leslie Frank Rehak, 50, a publicity-shy assistant of Mangatler's who came to Canada from Hungary in 1988. This week Mangatler, Rossi and Rehak—who left Canada in 1988 to avoid abortion charges and performed legal abortions in Australia for 15 years—are free on bail, although the Crown has appealed their release. Their legal proceedings are expected to continue for months.

Ironically, the police raid may have done more to help the cause than months of organizing could have done. In Toronto's loose alliance of feminists, lawyers, health-care workers and other supporters reacted differently to a Mangatler clinic a year ago. But they did not get immediate support from the powerful women's community. Some feminists were concerned that the clinic would only serve middle-class and well-off women. It was also argued that Toronto—where accessibility to abortion is relatively easy—was not an area of prime need.

Unconscionable. But the internal arguments largely disappeared when police burst into the clinic one sunny morning on abortion was being completed. The 20-year-old woman lying on the table told a Globe and Mail reporter afterward: "I'm not ashamed. I didn't want an abortion but I didn't want to be pregnant. It's a personal decision. No one knows what a person is going through except that one person." The woman was thousands of phone calls of support. Roughly \$10,000 was raised in three days. Across the country women

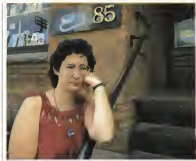
reacted angrily to the raid. At a demonstration in Toronto, Cecilia Frankish, who described herself as having as personal interest in abortion because she is over 60, expressed a common routine: "There are many things that may well be the business of the police. But this is not one of them."

How to resolve the seemingly irresolvable public controversy about abortion bedevils even those who take a clear stand. The Roman Catholic Church has one of the toughest anti-abortion positions among Canada's religious groups. But it too recognizes the divisions within its own ranks. Next month the national Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops and the Ontario Bishops Conference will both release statements on abortion, and those statements will likely be moderate in tone. The reason, according to Thunder Bay Bishop John O'Meara, is that there is "considerable public confusion" on the issue. While many Catholics might not choose to have abortions, some are reluctant to deny the operation to others. Still, in O'Meara's view it is morally and logically inconsistent.

Winnipeg Earlier this month the church was divided. How rarely the general public views outright condemnation of abortion when Winnipeg Archbishop Lynn Eldard, a 30-year-old Catholic man working in the Mangatler clinic. Shortly after being charged by police in the Winnipeg raid, Eldard says that she was denied the right to marry in a Catholic church. She married instead in the United Church, the religion of her spouse. But the archbishop's comment and action clearly upset many people in the community.

Ultimately, the abortion issue will be decided in the political arena. Mangatler's crusade is made possible by a law that is almost unchangeable except by community consensus, and that consensus is unlikely to develop. Few Canadians were satisfied with the existing legislation, but no one—certainly not Justice Minister Mark MacGuinn, who was also in the clinic—was openly opposed to abortion—wishes to undertake the politically dangerous task of reforming it.

In the meantime, federal and provincial governments are testing Mangatler's nerves in Ontario, Attorney General Roy McMurtry was swift to order the raid on the Toronto clinic. The Ontario Crown is moving



Robitkin: If he was making money off the backs of women, I would not be around

aggressively to demand stricter law provisions for the three doctors charged (bail for each was set at \$3,000). In Manitoba, Mangatler and his supporters were surprised when the NDP government moved against them as harshly. With his cabinet as deeply divided as Manitoba's cabinet, Premier Howard Pawley has only succeeded in alternating both sides. When Deputy Premier Maril Seith—a supporter of a woman's right to choose, with a daughter active in the movement—showed up at a rally to defend the government, she was driven to leave by the hostile reaction. Many accused Pawley of ducking the issue and placing the responsibility for it on Seith and other

ministers. Conservative Leader Sterling Lyon said that Pawley was "hiding behind Seith's skirts." Attorney General Roland Penner has also delayed the debate by turning matters over to the Crown prosecutor, claiming that the police had no choice but to uphold the law, even though the government could have legislated the issue by giving it hospital status.

Canadian courts will also have several chances to add a learned voice to the discussion. In the Supreme Court of Ontario, the Canadian Abortion Rights Action

League will argue that the abortion law is inconsistent with the new Charter of Rights and Freedoms because it denies women the right to life, liberty and security. Another group, the Coalition for Reproductive Choice in Winnipeg, has launched a similar action.

But whatever the politicians and courts decide, the movement is convinced that it will win. Mangatler's supporters are certain that no jury will convict him, because society at large is so divided on the issue. If he is acquitted in Toronto and Winnipeg, he may be permitted to quietly open other clinics. It is a possibility that even the anti-abortion groups grudgingly concede.

Last week Mangatler issued an urgent plea for \$100,000 to \$150,000 to replace the Winnipeg clinic and to replace equipment that police had seized. He also put out a call for as much as \$200,000—money he will need to fight his legal battles all the way to the Supreme Court of Canada—and fired off angry salutes in a manner reflecting the nature of the abortion debate. He described the police as "double crossers," the NDP government as "unworthy" and the charges against him as "ridiculous, ludicrous and outrageous." In the current climate of confusion and uncertainty on the issue, those charges are certain to fuel the national debate to an even more acrimonious level.

—SUEAN BERRY, with Joselyn Carver and Carol Brummen in Toronto, Peter Carle-Gord in Winnipeg, David Plotkin in Fredericton, Anne Byrne in Montreal and Beverly Scott in Vancouver



Scott: Free on bail



Rose. The woman never gets to state her case, and that does not give reasons

COVER

Stop signs and detours in the way of abortion

Brasco, Man (population 42,000), has one hospital, Brandon General, and it has a committee that, under Canadian law, can authorize abortions. Dr. Deane Chasthuri regularly performed abortions there for 16 years, usually using a local anesthetic. But 10 months ago Chasthuri died, and the city's four other obstetricians refuse to perform abortions except in extremely rare circumstances. That standoff has ramifications far more than Brandon's citizens, because Brandon serves as a referral hospital for 300,000 people in northwest Manitoba and southeastern Saskatchewan. As a result, despite the existence of a legally constrained abortion committee, women in the region have no ready access to legal abortion. And many are forced to flee the area: this 1,000 Canadian women who each year go to the United States for abortions.

Even though the Liberal government—largely as a result of the efforts of then Justice Minister Pierre Trudeau—repealed Canada's abortion law in 1988, legal abortions remain largely inaccessible to thousands of Canadian women who want them. The law pro-

vides that a woman has to clear a number of procedural hurdles to obtain an abortion. Permission is available in some parts of the country, but it is almost impossible to obtain in others, particularly in conservative rural or heavily Roman Catholic regions. As in Brandon, Canada's abortion law gives virtually exclusive control over the process to local doctors in other areas as well. And by giving doctors on hospital abortion committees the power to determine when a woman can have an abortion, the law grants them broad arbitrary power, says Carol Rose, a Winnipeg lawyer associated with the Coalition for Reproductive Choice. "The woman never gets to state her case before them, and if they turn her down, they do not give reasons—and there is no appeal," declares Rose.

The situation clearly alarmed a three-member committee set up in 1975 by the federal government to determine how well the abortion law was working. In its 1977 report the committee, headed by University of Toronto medical sociology professor Edwin Rodeley and including Toronto physician Marion Powell and Montreal lawyer Denise Fortin Caron, concluded "The cumulative effects of how this law has been interpreted by provincial health authorities, hospital boards and the medical profession have created a situation of such inequity of women seeking and obtaining therapeutic abortions." Six years later those inequities are just as striking. Powell says that the situation has not improved since the committee reported that "The procedure provided in the Criminal Code for obtaining therapeutic abortion is in practice illusory for many Canadian women."

Long delays in Quebec abortion law, on a request, following Dr. Henry Morgentaler's successful defiance of the abortion laws in the mid-1970s (page 38). And abortions are comparatively easy to obtain—particularly for well-connected women—in large cities such as Vancouver and Toronto. But even in those cities there are often long delays because of overcrowded facilities, according to Michele Dore, a counsellor with Toronto's Birth Control and VO Information Service. And the problems are far more extreme elsewhere. In Newfoundland only one gynecologist, Dr. Bruce Miller, is now regularly performing abortions, substantially reducing the number in the province. Marginalia reports that roughly half the patients in his Montreal clinic are from out of the province. In Saskatchewan the new Conservative administration of Grant Devine is openly hostile to abortion, and hospitals in Prince Albert and Moose Jaw recently disbanded their abortion committees. Now, it is extremely difficult to get an abortion anywhere in the province other than Saskatoon, says Margaret Fern, executive director of Planned Parenthood in Saskatchewan.

Protesters the minute released



Many of the regional disparities are a result of anti-abortion pressures on hospital boards and committees from within their communities in the United States; by contrast, a 1973 Supreme Court ruling on abortion approved the establishment of abortion clinics independent of hospitals. The United States now has 600 of those clinics, where self-help is minimal and abortions are largely performed in an outpatient basis. Ross is Italy, with its 60-per-cent Catholic population, abortion, since 1978, has largely been a private matter left to a woman and her doctor.

In Canada, however, there is an extra layer of bureaucracy involved in the process. After a woman and her doctor have agreed that an abortion is required, they still need the approval of a hospital committee, usually composed of three other doctors. The law stipulates that a woman can have an abortion only when a pregnancy endangers her life or health. But there is a wide variation in the ways that the hospital committees determine what poses such a danger. Some committees have adopted a variation of the World Health Organization's belief that a woman's health is endangered when her "social well-being" is threatened. On the other hand, the Health Sciences Centre in St. John's, the only hospital in Newfoundland where abortions are routinely performed, refuses to permit the procedure solely for social or economic reasons or for minor physical or psychiatric conditions. "The hospital is trying to reflect the views of the community," said the Centre's medical administrator, Dr. Carl Robbins. "We know how difficult that is because no one knows what these views are." Many hospital committees require that a patient have the endorsement of two doctors, and some insist that one of them be a psychiatrist.

Water in British Columbia, where some of the most bitter battles over accessibility have taken place, abortion appointments have tried—unsuccessfully—to gain control of hospital boards. In New Brunswick doctors on the committee at Moncton General Hospital bowed to pressure last year and suspended the procedure for six months in response to accusations that they were conducting a "silent holocaust." Last January the committee decided to resume abortions because, as Moncton's Dr. Robert Gaudet put it: "By not doing abortions we are not stopping unwanted pregnancies and we are not helping women who desire abortion. We are merely driving them underground."

Another anomaly in the Canadian abortion system is that many hospitals grant abortion privileges only to gynecologists and obstetricians. Dr. Robert Gaudet, a general practitioner in

Brandon, does not perform abortions at the hospital even though she delivers babies there—a much more complicated medical procedure than an abortion carried out in the first 12 weeks of pregnancy. "We have absolutely given up," she said. "Ninety-nine per cent of our patients go to the United States."

Arbitrary, uneven: Many women have no other choice when they have to wait for hospital committees to consider their cases at length and then for hospital facilities to become available. The chances of complications from abortion increase after 10 weeks of pregnancy, and many women do not even realize that they are pregnant until the eighth or ninth week. And after they have passed their 15th week of pregnancy, many hospitals refuse to perform an abortion at all. Merrin-Anne Wapcott of Planned Parenthood in Edmonton estimates that because of long delays roughly half of the women seeking abortions there end up opting

for a trip to the United States; those who can afford to fly go to Seattle, Wash. The alternative is a 18-hour road trip to Missoula, Mont. The same problem can be met in Calgary, but last May the city's Foothills Hospital cut off a woman's claim, which had reduced waiting time to a maximum of two weeks.

Still, the Foothills clinic is in large part an anomaly. Most cities are actually tightening up the restrictions on the operation. The number of Canadian women seeking abortions in the United States rose by 60 per cent over the previous year to 2,650 in 1983—the last year for which figures are available. As long as Canadian women face arbitrary and unequal access to abortion, that number is likely to continue to climb.

—LINDA McQUEEN and Jackie Caron in Toronto, and Peter Carole-Gordie in Winnipeg, David Palmer in Fredericton, and Randolph Joyce in St. John's

Abortion patient's complex question of 'social well-being' or 'a silent holocaust'





MEDICINE

The mystery at Sick Kids

By Pat Ohiendorf

Three years ago a tragic epidemic of infant deaths broke out in the cardiac ward of Toronto's world-renowned Hospital for Sick Children. Nurse Susan Melles was subsequently charged with five of those deaths. More than a year ago the man completely exonerated at a preliminary hearing. But the judge in that case said at the time that someone administering the heart drug digoxin had murdered five babies. At least three investigations since then have raised the number of "suspected" deaths at various times to seven, 36 and 46. Still, police have not laid any new charges. Now, testimony before an Ontario royal commission has raised doubts about whether there were any homicides committed at Sick Children's; the mystery of what happened on the cardiac ward (over the fatal summer of 1986 and early 1987)—and who is responsible—has deepened even further.

When Ontario Attorney General Roy McMurtry responded to pressure, particularly from parents of the dead infants, and ordered the commission inquiry last April, he described the hospital deaths as "a tragedy of horrific proportions, simply unprecedented in Canada's history." Still, as explanation of the deaths remains elusive, and Melles, for her part, returns to work at the hospital on July 4 after 27 months of paid leave. But on the commission re-

viewed on the basis of digoxin testing, there was reason to believe that it might eventually provide an acceptable resolution to the puzzle.

For one thing, the commission is armed with, and will make public, the results of all previous investigations, including a detailed study by the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta which has never been published. The commission will also attempt to determine whether the police and the gov-

ernment acted properly in their investigations and in the subsequent prosecution of Melles.

As well, the commission may uncover a criminal suspect, but that is an ambiguous prospect legally. The terms of reference do not empower the commission, Ontario Supreme Court Judge Dennis Grange, to come to "any conclusion of law regarding civil or criminal responsibility." Still, says commission counsel Paul Lamek: "If we get clear and persuasive evidence about one or more persons who may have been involved in the deaths in the ward, presumably the commissioner's report will contain that." Lamek told Maclean's he will question nurses who were on the ward during the crucial period from July, 1986, to March, 1987, including Melles and her supervisor,

Phyllis Traynor.

Two weeks of often conflicting evidence from experts on the properties and effects of digoxin—particularly concerning the difficulties of interpreting test results on exhumed or preserved human tissue—have so far raised doubts about whether any babies were murdered. Bernard Minkin, a clinical pediatric pharmacologist from the University of Minnesota, told the commission that, because of a tendency of digoxin levels in blood to increase naturally after death, it was "almost a hopeless case" trying to reach any conclusions from an exhumed body about what dosage of digoxin a baby had been given or when and how it had been administered. In another twist, David Seconic, a biochemist from Stony Brook,

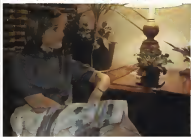
Hospital in Vacouver, testified that an unidentified but naturally occurring substance in infants—which he called "Substance X"—can infuse digoxin test readings and even produce apparent signs of the drug when it has not been administered.

Regardless of the reliability of digoxin tests, records that were made public last week left no doubt that the number of deaths on the cardiac ward increased, then returned to normal with an extraordinary abruptness. A York University historian and computer expert, Anne Gilmore-Bryson, told of "a 605 78-per-cent increase" in deaths during the crucial nine-month period, compared to two nine-month stretches before and two after that seven. Specifically, the grim total was 34 deaths, as opposed to five, six, one and seven during the other comparable periods. In addition, 34 of the babies died between 1 a.m. and 5 a.m. during the nine months being investigated, while the highest number of deaths between those hours during any other comparable period from January, 1976, through September, 1985, was only one.

Dr. Richard Rowe, the hospital's chief of cardiology, fired a battery of questions on just when hospital authorities realized that a disturbing number of babies were dying on the cardiac ward, what the doctors subscribed the deaths to and what they did about it. Calm and articulate but appearing increasingly fired as the days of testimony wore on, Rowe, 68, said that the cardiac ward was concerned about the deaths during the late summer of 1986. But he maintained that the eight deaths that were discussed last week could generally be explained by severe heart malformations. Still, when Lamek pressed him, Rowe acknowledged that the symptoms that the victims exhibited just before death—such as irregular pulse, sweating and a rapid deterioration in their overall condition—were "consistent with digoxin poisoning."

As the inquiry continues, a lawsuit in which Susan Melles is demanding \$504,980 for "malicious prosecution" by McMurtry and the Metropolitan Toronto Police hangs over the proceedings. Perhaps when the current public inquiry is completed, probably some time this winter, one of the most disturbing mysteries in Canadian medical history will be solved. A homicide conviction cannot be ruled out. But one outcome that Lamek definitely hopes for is "a restoration of public confidence in important institutions—the hospital, the police force and the prosecutory arm of the attorney general." Still, that does not necessarily mean that they will "come out like white and doves," insists Lamek. "I think you can restore confidence by airing all the facts." ♦

Rowe (above right) with Lamek: Melles "a tragedy of horrific proportions"





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The Financial Post

When black is no longer beautiful

In the 1960s the proud slogan was "Black is beautiful." But today increasing numbers of blacks in Africa—especially young women—are bleaching their skin while by rubbing creams and ointments onto their bodies. From roadside billboards, to local magazines and on TV and movie screens, skin-cream advertisers tell young Africans that "clear skin is in"—and in that context, "clear" is a euphemism for pale. The trend has spawned a multi-million-dollar trade for the European and North American-based cosmetic industries. But the creams have also given rise to concerns among ethnic purists, who find it demeaning for Africans to spurn their black heritage, and among scientists who are worried about the physical reactions.

Norah Okumbo, for one, a research biochemist at Kenya's Nairobi University, found that the active ingredients of the most commonly used skin lighteners include potentially dangerous concentrations of mercury or a photo-graph-developing chemical, hydroquinone. "In one shop in Nairobi, I counted no fewer than 15 brands of harmful creams," she said. Mercury, which lightens the skin by destroying pigment-producing enzymes, can also enter the body through the bloodstream and attack the kidneys. During the past 10 years doctors at Nairobi's Kenyatta National Hospital have treated an alarming number of young women suffering from kidney failure. A study of 60 cases revealed that all the patients had been using skin-lightening creams with higher mercury concentrations than medically recommended.

Most reputable cream manufacturers thus mercury or use it only in extremely low concentrations, with some having substituted hydroquinone for the mercury. But some manufacturers believe that hydroquinone interferes with the production of melanin, a pigment that gives the skin its color. In a black person, the pigmentation protects the skin from the harsh tropical sun. Said Dr. Etienne Anzore, a consultant dermatologist at Kenya's National Hospital: "When the skin is bleached with hydroquinone, the effect of the sun becomes obvious: people get badly sunburned, the numbers bleed and leaves a scar." Anzore says that the staff of his clinic sees four or five patients a week who have burned by their skin lighteners. "The problem is that when they come, it is already too late. The damage is done."

In the United States, where skin lighteners have been less and less popular since the civil rights movement got under way in the late 1950s, the Food and Drug Administration recommended last year that manufacturers use no more than two per cent hydroquinone in most skin-treatment preparations. But, in a recent series of analyses privately commissioned by Anzore, the Kenyan government's chem-

icalists, "I am prepared to admit that we do have slightly above the FDA recommendation of two per cent, but within the safety parameter of five per cent," Wolf Koch, managing director of Hirsfeld Labs, said his company was "more strict than German law itself."

In addition to the medical debate, though, there is continuing concern that skin lighteners are used at all. "Most girls, especially the Africans,



Damage to skin from using lightening cream. Bleaching "to look like albinos"

ists' office found that some popular products contained considerably more hydroquinone than two per cent. The Kenyan chemist reported that two brands, Cleartone and Eonit, manufactured by the Nicholas Corp. of Australia, contained 14.3 and 15.8 per cent hydroquinone respectively. Venus de Milo, manufactured by the British firm Ouse, registered roughly eight per cent, while Princess Patra, a product of West Germany's Haniel Ltd., had as much as 34.6 per cent hydroquinone.

Some manufacturers, however, have been quick to dispute the findings. The Nicholas Corp.'s regional vice-president, Michael Barker, said that while he was not at liberty to disclose individual

sales to like white skin more than their own," (lamented three male readers in a joint letter to the Kenya Daily Nation newspaper last month. "Some girls spoil their beautiful black faces to look like albinos. Bleaching the face has led to an increase in prostitution, which is itself in a moral evil." While most African countries are acutely aware of the problem, only the Zimbabwe government has introduced legislation restricting the sale of hydroquinone preparations. Customers must now request the products from the druggist. For their part, Okumbo and Anzore would like to see similar legislation in all the African countries where the creams are sold. —ROLAND TWEED in Nairobi.

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Divers pulling Chalkachuk from the pool; the consequences were irreversible

HEALTH

Diving into danger

As Soviet diver Sergei Chalkachuk prepared to execute a risky 24-centimetre dive from a 10-m platform at this month's World University Games in Edmonton, some of his fellow competitors nervously refused to watch. Their concern was well founded. The 21-year-old athlete misjudged and smashed into the diving platform in front of thousands of shocked spectators, splitting open his skull. When Chalkachuk died in Edmonton's University Hospital last week, seven days after the accident, Canadian diving officials were struggling to dispel their sport's newly acquired divergent image.

Diving mishaps are, in fact, the third leading cause of crippling spinal injuries among Canadians (after accidents on the road and on the job). But few of the water sport's victims are competitive divers; most are young men who throw themselves headfirst into the shallow ends of backyard pools without thinking of the consequences.

Still, falling into water still isn't as simple as spinning rapidly through multiple somersaults less than an arm's length from a solid platform in a "high-risk skill," acknowledges Don McGovern, diving supervisor at the Edmonton games. But he adds that after watching countless competitors over 18 years he has seen only two other major injuries, and neither caused long-term disability. At the same time, every summer dozens of Canadians rushing into the water to cool off suffer spinal damage that will leave them paralyzed for life. Two surveys of diving accidents—one of which

The Royal Life Saving Society Canada conducted in Ontario—showed that in 1989, 13 Ontario residents sustained spinal injuries in the water. By 1979 that number had risen to 54, and only three were females.

When a diver's head strikes a hard surface, the force compresses the spinal column at its weakest point—the neck. Under the pressure, one of the vertebrae literally may explode, driving fragments of bone into the spinal cord. The result can be severe paralysis. "It is like a telephone line being cut, interrupting messages to the lower body," says Virginia Edwards, co-director of Sunnybrook Hospital's acute spinal cord injury unit in Toronto.

Occasionally, a casual diver can suffer a spinal injury even if his head does not strike bottom. A Vancouver man was partially paralyzed when he dove off the edge of a pool on July 1. "He hit the water with his chin up, and his neck was scooped back," said Dr. Michael Boyd, a resident in neurosurgery who treated him at St. Joseph's Hospital's spinal cord unit. Boyd, a former member of Canada's national diving team, said that improper dives can produce a variety of whiplash or "hyperextension" injuries.

The skilled competitive diver and the poolside beer drinker may have little in common. But in each case a miscalculation can have irreversible consequences. Said Edwards: "There is a split second when someone makes a bad decision, and he pays for it the rest of his life."

—BRAD D. JOHNSON in Toronto

Antismokers flex their muscles

By Jacqueline Swartz

In the town of Ilorin, in northwestern Nigeria, a popular movie drew a large crowd when it was shown free of charge in the central square. Also free were the packages of cigarettes that were handed out afterward. "With that kind of promotion, it is easy to get people hooked on cigarettes," lamented Dr. Paul Peter-Pearse, a physician at the University of Lagos College of Medicine in Nigeria who attended the Fifth World Conference on Smoking and Health in Winnipeg last week. Peter-Pearse and other physicians, representatives of international agencies, researchers and consumer activists met to share research and bolster their cause.

As activist women spoke with European scientists and distinguished heads of medical schools traded tactics with billboard-defacing antismoking activists, it was clear that a worldwide campaign had been firmly launched. The overall target was smoking, but the enemy was not so much the addicts themselves as the multinational companies that manufacture and promote cigarettes. Health Minister Monique Bégin reflected the aggressive spirit of the convention. Declaring smoking the "single most important preventable cause of illness and death," she announced her intention to tackle the problem by raising tobacco taxes.

One industry spokesman in Montreal, commenting on the week's events, ac-

good that statements relating smoking to health hazards are not backed by rigorous and objective studies. "Let's not fall into sensationalism," said Michel Goffinet, manager of public affairs for Benson and Hedges (Canada) Ltd., a subsidiary of the transnational Philip Morris Inc. "We are talking about the health of people and we want to know what the facts are."

Throughout the week, speakers characterized tobacco use and over again as a major health problem. In the past, said Dr. Roberto Maurer, co-ordinator of the World Health Organization's Program on Smoking and Health, epidemics were spread by bacteria, animals and people. But now, he said, "we are being confronted by a new phenomenon: man-made epidemics spread by images, aided by every device of modern communications technology. This phenomenon threatens to every part of the world."

With the annual growth of the cigarette market in Canada close to half the rate of the mid-1970s, a trend reflected in other parts of the Western world, the tobacco industry faces an uncertain future. Its response has been to pursue potential growth markets, among them, women and smokers of both sexes who are reassured by regulations in tar and nicotine contents. But with a worldwide advertising budget that the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) now calculates to be \$4 billion annually, the industry's largest new target is the developing countries. "This is virgin territory," according to Dr. Michael McGinnis, U.S. deputy assistant secretary for health. And if current marketing trends persist, tobacco will be the leading cause of death in developing countries in 20 years, he

Robert: a transnational health effort



If you drink rum because you like the taste, try Appleton Gold, Jamaica's famous spirit.

RICH RUM

and—providing malnutrition and related diseases.

Conference participants maintained a smoke-free environment on the three levels of the Winnipeg Convention Centre. "I know for a fact that some people among us do smoke," confessed Dr. Peter Adlaf, professor of medicine at the Free University of Berlin. "What is more important is that here we see people not smoking just because it is not socially acceptable." But while the Norwegian delegates were cheered for announcing a campaign for a smoke-free country by the year 2000, and the Swedish delegates confidently described their growing New Generation of Nonsmokers youth movement, the opposite trend seemed to be taking hold in the Third World.

When the hazards of tobacco go beyond disease, when people spend a large proportion of a small income on cigarettes, they spend less on nutrition. And as more land is given over to lucrative tobacco crops, less is available to grow food. Although many developing countries were once devastated by previous tobacco, these benefits, speakers argued, are offset by the cost of illness, disability and lost earnings.

Delegates also criticised the marketing of "mild" cigarettes. Their aim was to smoke more and inhale more deeply than they would with stronger cigarettes, according to William Roberts, a University of Waterloo statistics professor. And British psychiatrist M.A.21 Russell claimed that smokers simply adjust their smoking habits to maintain the nicotine level in their blood, no matter what kind of cigarettes they smoke. As a result, he said, governments should allow a low-tar, high-nicotine cigarette that would give smokers their "fix" with less of the tar associated with cancer.

A prime marketing target for mild cigarettes is women, and U.S. cigarette companies spent \$60 million on advertising in women's magazines alone in 1989, said Dr. Jeanne Lusk, director of smoking and health at the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. But what we sell our young people about smoking," she said. "It contradicts us when we try to tell them it is not safe, sexy and attractive."

On the government level, the World Health Organization now records about 40 countries that have enacted legislation controlling smoking, a three-fold increase since 1976. But the tobacco industry is "a transnational enterprise," said WHO's Maerlein. "This is why it is so powerful. The health interest must therefore also be transnational." The determination of 1,300 people attending the Winnipeg conference suggests the antismoking drive has indeed transcended borders.

MEDIA WATCH

The paradox of the press legislation

By George Bain

There aren't a lot of people around who would agree that having all the daily newspapers in the country in one, or even two, sets of hands would be a Good Thing. Consequently, there will be no great outcry even by the papers against the bid that James Fleming's new daily newspaper set, if passed, will put on the competitive tenders of the Thomson, Southern and other late entrants into the market. There are too few converts of too many newspapers already. But it can be argued that the same proposals that are intended to keep competition from becoming less are also capable of working against these being done.

For example, if Ken Thomson is in a fit of passion for the day after day decided to take a run against Southern's *Hamilton Spectator*, or if either Thomson or Southern decided that for a paltry handful of millions they might cancel on the people of Saint John or Moncton the boom of competition to the Irving papers, someone, somehow, would say no. They are already at the limit of what they may own—beyond it, in fact, although it is not proposed to roll them back.

I am not so naive as to have overlooked the fact that, except for the new ones of *The Toronto Star* in Edmonton and Calgary and an unrelated *Star* in Winnipeg, new city newspapers haven't been popping up like dandelions on a suburban lawn. Neither is it obscure that the same now in the courts against Southern and Thomson under the *Corrections Investigation Act* doesn't arise from an excess of competitiveness.

Nevertheless, because they are chains and have the expertise and money, they have to be considered at least nominal candidates to start new newspapers or to convert weeklies into dailies. Rolling them out, therefore, congressmen, however slightly, the chance of new competition developing locally, a paradoxical effect of a policy intended to keep competition from decreasing nationally.

Of anything in the Fleming proposals that might make newspapers better there is news. The multinationals in control would argue that the release of new newspapers to reach circulation in sums of not more than \$50,000 a year, to set up regional or foreign bureaus is so intended—as it may be—but it will

come to now because the papers won't have it. Most subsidies, which publications in general have not fished at taking, are one thing—they are capable of being looked at as subsidies more or less to the publisher than to the reader—but accepting such money for maintenance amounts a little too much of being kept.

If there is a case to be made for government intervention at all to get news papers to do more, a better means than offering cash would be to create incentives. That, in effect, is what the postal regulations did in the period 1983 to 1985, when the mails were much more important to news papers in serving rural readers. Newspapers qualified for a cheap rate—15 cents a pound vs. four cents—if advertising did not exceed 50 per cent. Since it was not practicable to produce an edition paper for mailing and a further one for urban readers, the 50-50 paper became the norm. Nevertheless, the rough rule is 95-5, the latter being the one, and not all keep to that on all days. The mails are not as important to newspapers now, but if ways can be found to create size allowances to be earned by ad dollars because they produce a vital community, so, no doubt, they could for newspapers—if needed.

That, of course, is the question. Newspapers have been through a hard time, but, according to media stock analysts, they are recovering very nicely. If there is no need, then perhaps the public is entitled to ask why more owners and publishers are not talking in such terms as these: "What's a newspaper for?" Is it only to make money? I don't believe that. Newspapers have an inherent responsibility to enlighten people. The words are those of Ray Mungton, publisher of the *Baltimore Sun*, replying on the telephone the other day to my question about how his paper, with a circulation of 180,159 daily and 280,000 Sunday, warrants some foreign bureaus, with nine staffers and a 19-person Washington bureau. No Canadian newspaper or group does so well, including, among independents, *The Toronto Star*, with twice those circulation figures, and, among groups, Southern, with 15 dailies, plus the weekly *Financial Times*, and a combined circulation of 1.5 million. If we do not rise to the level of the American best, money and circulation won't wash as an explanation.



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FOR THE RECORD

Fidelity in small packages



Compact discs and players solving problems of background hiss and record wear

For almost 100 years, technicians have searched for the perfect means of sound reproduction. From wax-coated cylinders to vinyl discs, the major weaknesses of recording have been the background hiss and the wear of the stylus on the groove. With the arrival of the compact disc (CD), these problems appear to have been solved. Scanned by a laser beam, the 4.7-inch-diameter disc stores sound in the form of digital "bits," which are then decoded back into music without any of the surface noise, scratches or distortions that afflict conventional discs. The CD players received the marketplace last spring (selling for about \$1,000 each), and now the discs are available in stores at about \$10 each.

Many audiophiles are willing to pay these prices because of the quality and durability of the CD still, while the CD version improves the stereo separation and dynamic range, it cannot eliminate the weaknesses of the old-fashioned tape-recording process. The shallow sound on Barbra Streisand's *Truth* (CBS) is still thin in the CD incarnation. But Toto, a Los Angeles band which knows how to use studio technology to full effect, greatly enhances its sound on *CD On the Fly* (CBS), the brushed cymbals shimmer and the bass is growlingly gut-thumping. Similarly, Vanquish's synthesizer sound track for *Chorus of Five* (PolyGram) glitters in its new, pure mode. And the CD version of *Dirge Straits* (PolyGram) is a revelation: crisp, clear and free of the surface noise that interfered with Mark Knopfler's wispier guitar work on the Canadian pressing of the record. But it was cases like the brightening of sound works

against the recording. The bass whump of Earth, Wind and Fire's *Rainie* (CBS) plays havoc with weaker speakers.

Because many classical albums are recorded digitally, listeners might expect classical CDs to boast better sound than pop releases. But the first batch of classical CDs produced mixed results. Both new versions of Gustav Mahler's *The Planets*, from Louis Massel and L'Orchestre National de France (CBS) and Herbert von Karajan and the Berlin Philharmonic (Decca/PolyGram), fail to provide a sonic spectacle. The full recording of the Mahler performance displays a cerebral lifelessness that has marred so much of his recent work. In the new Karajan version, the recording gives the Berlin strings a nasty glassiness in the loud passages. That same glass has been one of the drawbacks of digital recordings and is still persistent in some CDs.

One of the recordings that originally gave digital a bad name was Isaac Stern's 1976 *American Celebration* (EMI), featuring virtuosos Stern, Pinchas Zukerman and Itzhak Perlman. A recording that reduced the music to high-pitched noise spoiled the amiability of the occasion. In its CD version, much of the composition is cleared by contrast, one of the first recordings to give digital a good name was the Montreal Symphony Orchestra's rendering of Ravel's *Daphnis and Chloé* (PolyGram). The full-bodied 1981 recording is new free of any surface defects. Its gamut-free sound and confident performance are perfectly suited for the compact disc, that charm-and-deluxe device—by TIM TEFELINE.

—GERALD LEVITON

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He had no middle name. He was never known by his last name. His name was simply John. He was a simple, honest, straight-forward, honest, like the man himself. His name came to represent first-class beer always brewed from the choicest ingredients. And for that reason we're proud to pay tribute to this distinguished name in introducing a distinctive new beer. It's known, quite simply as John Labatt Classic.

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In every way John Labatt was a man without compromise. And that's why today we take



such pride in introducing this beer brewed to his name.

WE TEND TO IT IN SMALL BATCHES JUST AS HE WOULD.

No finer beer has ever borne his name. Not have we ever made available a beer so expensive to produce. And it seems fitting that it is made by a brewery which is proudly Canadian owned.

John Labatt Classic is a new kind of beer with particular appeal for the discriminating beer drinker. Just like John Labatt in his day we use only pure barley malt made from 100 percent whole grain barley. This 30-barley malt leads a roundness or richness to John Labatt Classic.

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Thus, John Labatt Classic is more expensive than ordinary beer and, indeed, to start John Labatt Classic is an extra ordinary beer.

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John Labatt Classic is displayed in grids of six in an open carrying case. Cases of 12 and 24 are also available. You will find this premium beer at Breweries, Retail Stores, selected liquor stores and gracing the tables of some of the finest licensed establishments John Labatt Classic. One of the finest beers in the world, brewed for the world's most discerning tastes. When you know the man, you know the beer.



Brewed Without Compromise.

Sky-high videogames

Passengers hoping to lean back and relax on CP Air's nine-hour flight from Vancouver to Amsterdam may be surprised—if not dismayed—to find their seatmates playing tennis with Snoopy or dodging Donkey Kong on blurring, flashing videogames. The airline has just introduced 34 portable videogame sets on the route as a trial to entertain its customers. The bread-and-butter units, which can sit on top of food trays, cost for \$8.99 each. And by mid-July the U.S. airlines, including TWA and United, had also begun supplying games on board. If passenger response is favorable, CP Air plans to install permanent sets in trays that will store in the seat backs. But Air-Canada, says Carolyn Dolbow, a public affairs assistant in Toronto, is not planning to put videogames on their flights.

The idea of in-flight videogames came to Michael Thorek, president of Air Video Inc. of Toronto, when he became restless on a vacation flight to the Dominican Republic three years ago. Back in Toronto, he assembled a prototype and took the battery-powered set, complete with blurring console and flashing screen, on a flight for a test run. "No one seemed to mind," he said. "Airplanes are quite noisy by themselves." Now his in-flight prototype sits on the sets used by CP Air. Others are made by Altus Corp. of San Jose, Calif.

The response from passengers is vital to the success of the new gimmick, and noise is a major concern. "We felt our sets should be quiet because the texture of the game is important," said Thorek. "A player must hear as well as see the results." A video enthusiast may appreciate that kind of thinking. But some seatmates may not enjoy listening to a somnolent cacophony from a unit played by a sleeping video addict. For its part, Altus has elements in its airframe sets "so that games would not disturb your neighbor," said the company's director of operations, Richard Thorek.

Thorek says permanently installed units would be solar-powered, and Altus is now working on the new series. "We are trying to move into more console games and eventually progressive mobile computers," said Thorek. For now, long-distance travelers, and their neighbors, will have to settle for Snoopy lobbing a few balls into the back court.

—JUNE RODGERS
in Toronto

Keep a silent partner on ice.



Toronto, Rhodes: old pals, old memories and a wiggle the camera cannot resist

FILMS

Dancing the night away

STAYING ALIVE

Directed by Sylvester Stallone

As a sequel to the phenomenally successful and deeply affecting *Saturday Night Fever*, *Staying Alive* is the most primitive attempt at resurrection. The original's working-class hero, Tony Manero (John Travolta), who found a release from his frustrations on the floor of a Brooklyn discotheque, has moved to Manhattan and is trying to land a job (it's a Broadway musical). Stage Sylvester Stallone, aka Rocky Balboa, directed, co-wrote and co-produced *Staying Alive*, it will come as no surprise that Tony Manero will go the distance. In fact, the movie is drenched with all surprise whatever, merely serving as a grim reminder of the hand-me-down mentality affecting the movie industry. Edited rather than directed (fluffy images are matched with rhythmic but totally lackluster music), *Staying Alive* is the same of movie television—*Flashdance* with rippling male musculature. When Travolta, clad in a leotard, scores a knockout in the extravaganza, *Staying Alive*, it becomes clear what the movie is all about: flesh and old memories.

Tony Manero and his friends from *Saturday Night Fever* would have laughed at the idea of *Staying Alive*, a ludicrous Broadway musical about the

rise of a man from hell to heaven. And Manero would hardly recognize himself as his formerly street-smart character has descended into the "Vase" and "Vase" games of *Rocky*. To play on the audience's nostalgia, the famous whips out comes out of nowhere, just like the plot. Manero must make his choice between two one-dimensional "love interests": a rich girl (Cynthia Rhodes) who loves him, and a connected English dancer (Finola Hughes). The viewer will have no difficulty guessing who wins the man's heart.

Apart from the sporadic visual and aural pyrotechnics, the movie makes us downright sleepy. They have eagerly borrowed the opening music notation from the beginning of *Rob Fuest's* *All That Jazz*, and comically lapses, especially concerning seasons, abound. Furthermore, it simply does not ring true that Manero would be forced to live in a seedy hotel populated by bag people. During the contrived, unscripted dance sequences Stallone goes past sleepiness into oblivion. His diction seems to be: when in doubt, use slow motion. Only a seemingly soulless scene between Manero and his mother (Julia Roberts) resonates as the turf reality. As for Travolta, he exudes an excess of manufactured sensitivity and a wiggle that the camera cannot resist.

—LAWRENCE O'TOOLE

Sticky sentiment at centre court

SPRING FEVER

Directed by Joseph Bassett

Spring Fever is the movie equivalent of wacky publishing: Toronto filmmaker John F. Bassett is the producer, his 18-year-old daughter, tennis sensation Carling Bassett, is the star, and his wife, Susan Bassett, is the publicist. Remarkably, *Spring Fever* has some redeeming features. In fact, there are a few moments in the sentimental comedy when the fluff settles into something substantial.

Corking Bassett plays Karen Castle, the poor, 13-year-old daughter of a Las Vegas dancer (Susan Anton), who enters the Junior National Tennis Championships in Florida. Castle is the underdog: a skinny, wisecracking kid in an oversized Rapun rap (the only credible Canadian content in the film). She triumphs, of course, but not before richer competitors snub her, offend a justly disfigured bar from the tournament for stealing and her mother drags her through an emotional gauntlet.

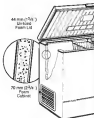
The scriptwriters of *Spring Fever* obviously find it hilarious to paint bad words in the mouths of 13-year-olds. They couple that silliness with sticky sentimentality. It is difficult to decide where to look during the endless lyrical poems of Karen and her friends. McLean rumpling sulkily through the surf while a singer on the sound track croons, "It's so easy being me/and not what they want me to be."

Fortunately, some social comment levens the amorosities when the film evokes the innocence of the organized children's sports. In one gripping scene, an irate father drags his injured and sobbing daughter back onto a court in an attempt to force her to play. In an even more disturbing scene, McLean's character, a shy, shy (Lisa Foster) knows her into a nightclub. The pink-faced girl looks utterly vulnerable as she peers up at male strippers. A sense of overwhelming evil charges the screen but, given the shallow nature of the rest of the film, this intrusion appears to be accidental.

Most of the supporting cast displays more blow-dried good looks than personality. But Jenna Walker gives a chilling performance as Melissa's cold-hearted mother. And when the script frees itself of the tedious task of crying profusely, she makes a startling revelation. The young Wislidenes can may never make it big in Hollywood, but she does nothing to jeopardize her place in the hearts of Canadian tennis fans.

—JOHN HODGINS

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BOOKS

The architect of chuckles

SLITHERING TOWARDS KALAMAZOO

By Peter De Vries
(McClelland and Stewart, \$21 pages, \$17.50)

"I have never, to the best of my knowledge, chuckled," says Anthony Thresher, protagonist and narrator extraordinaire of Peter De Vries' 21st novel, *Slithering Towards Kalamazoo*. "Planning never to chuckle," Thresher continues later, "neither do I wish to be the source of others doing so." Coming from someone who looks at life with relentless irony and acerbic wit, the desire not to be the cause of amusement is a strange ambition indeed. The teenage Thresher sees his dalliance with his Grade 8 teacher and the ensuing birth of their son, Abah, as the starting point of the sexual revolution. He watches with bemusement as his misanthropic father loses both his faith and his wife in a public debate to an ardent dermatologist. Dr. Mallard both debaters convince each other of the truth of their convictions, and they exchange moral positions. Thresher then becomes the stepson of Mallard and soon after he marries Hubbin, the stepdaughter of the teacher. Such convoluted and absurd relationships form the basis of an anthology of wit, cynicism, elaborate jokes and extravagantly convoluted turns of phrase. Thresher's wishes notwithstanding, Peter De Vries searches desperately for every possible chuckle.

As a student, the Vries was so successful in conceiving a stratter that he eventually was as award for his promptly speaking. Since then, the most salient aspect of the 39-year-old writer's career has been his dedication to smooth, sophisticated invention. De Vries spins his tales with an enthusiasm that often precludes control. *Slithering Towards Kalamazoo* is an initially elegant and finally tiresome shaggy-dog story that builds itself into a jolly of purposeless verbal excess and grammatical buttresses. Its literary allusions, its sophisticated and its freewheeling humor, like so many false staircases, go nowhere in particular, but De Vries seems eager to enjoy their construction. Where else, for example, could a Grade 8 "under-achiever" remark that his own submission, *Beit*, is "a thoroughly administrative response?" Where else could the teacher reply, "I wonder your architecture may suggest an, oh, made-in, devil-may-care

attitude, or nature. One quite germane to this contemporary?"

Unfortunately for deficiency publishers everywhere, the answer is nowhere else but in a De Vries novel, and it is his unique eccentricity that best protects him from his critics. De Vries is so intent on the chuckle—and even the grin—as a hard goal on a pleasant. When Thresher's employer, Stubbfield, tells of a street he lived on that was populated by poets, novelists and a journalist, Thresher fears that he can have the same corner a mile off. By this time, the gas was rising. What did Stubbfield call so literary a street? Thresher prepares himself, "I called it the writer's block."

By the midpoint of *Slithering Towards Kalamazoo*, as the deviants begin to wear thin, the Vries even skirts the single event that is rich with narrative promise—the debate—with the same carefree facility that sprinkles punch lines like confetti throughout the novel. In the hands of, say, John Updike, the story of two men who exchange convictions and a wife could be a wonderful entertainment. For De Vries, it becomes just one more joke to add to his high but teetering pile.

—DAVID MACFARLANE

OBITUARY

A messenger of hope

When Gabrielle Roy died of a heart attack last week at 74, Canada lost one of its most distinguished, original and widely read writers at a time when her work was gaining renewed attention. Winner of a Canada Council Medal for outstanding cultural achievement and the recipient of three Governor General's Awards, she was the author of nine works of fiction. Still, she was best known for her first book, *The Tin Flute* (1948), a sensitive novel about working-class life in Montreal. Recently adapted for the screen in both English and French, *The Tin Flute* was Canada's official entry at the Moscow Film Festival last week and will be released nationwide this fall.

The youngest of 13 children, Roy was born in the French-speaking enclave of St. Boniface, Man., where she began to write stories when she was 12. She taught in an assessment of Prairie schools, studied drama in Europe and worked as a journalist in wartime Montreal. The empathy she showed for working-class people in her fiction an-

telus was even more evident in *The Tin Flute*. When the novel was published it became an international best seller and won the coveted Prix Femina award in France. In 1963, Roy and her husband, Dr. Marcel Gauthier, finally settled in Quebec City. Publicly shy, she refused to let anyone spoil the freshness of her perceptions or the lucidity of her style. Her last published work of fiction, *Children of My Heart* (1973), was remarkably direct in its portrayal of menopause, and at the time of her death she was working on her memoirs. Recent photographs of the writer show a strong, serene countenance that recalls the beautiful descriptions of her mother in Roy's autobiographical novel *Street of Zacher*. "When her hair her memories were like birds in full flight."

No French-Canadian writer has ever touched the hearts of so many people across Canada. Roy's settings may partly account for her wide readership—think books as *Where Was the Wind Blowing* and *The Road Past Alton*—but more lovingly evoke Western Canada that her popularity also pays tribute to



Roy: assurance of human tenderness

her lasting faith in human nature. Only a few modern writers, notably Isaac Bashevis Singer, could match her gift of portraying warmth without sentimentality, joy without delusion. Even when her work described alienation and loneliness, it also reached out in hope. As she observed in her novel *The Gabbler*, "the only assurance on earth comes from that tenderness for human beings which goes farthest beyond the bounds of reason." In her brief writing, Roy revealed the radiance and the inexhaustible power of goodness.

—MADE AILEY

MACLEAN'S BEST-SELLER LIST

Fiction

- 1 *The Little Drummer Girl*, Le Carré (2)
- 2 *Christine*, King (2)
- 3 *White Gold*, Wilder, Donalson (2)
- 4 *Ancient Evenings*, Mosley (2)
- 5 *2010 Odyssey Two*, Clarke (2)
- 6 *Voice of the Heart*, Sinclair (2)
- 7 *Flamingo*, Brown (2)
- 8 *The Summer of My Sudden Disappearance*, (2)
- 9 *Ancient Evenings*, Mosley (2)
- 10 *Amos*, Thomas (2)

Nonfiction

- 1 *A Search of Excellence*, Peters and Waterman Jr. (2)
- 2 *Magnum*, Mitchell (2)
- 3 *The Last Lion*, Macdonald (2)
- 4 *The Outcrop People*, Mowat (2)
- 5 *The P.P.S. Det.*, Eylon (2)
- 6 *Joe Foweraker's Book*, Foweraker (2)
- 7 *The Love You Make*, Brown and Gorman (2)
- 8 *Royal Service*, Burns (2)
- 9 *Out on a Limb*, MacLennan (2)
- 10 *The Peaked Pavilion*, Stern

(1) Position last week

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The matter of the Reagan mole

By Joe Schlessinger

They will never enrich Ronald Reagan with a smoking gun as they did Richard Nixon. They might as well stop trying. It is just too much to expect that Reagan, who can hardly bear to look at his own briefing books, would master enough industry and curiosity to read Jimmy Carter's filched flash cards, maybe. Purchased briefing books or anything over four pages, forget it.

Instead you, that still leaves the possibility of an accessory charge. Reagan prepared for his 1980 debate with President Carter by using David Stockman in training sessions as a stand-in for Jimmy. And Stockman, we now know, based his Carter role on the pilfered papers. So Reagan clearly benefited from what appears to have been involved as stolen property. But you would have to prove that he knew it was stolen. And it doesn't take 10 FBI agents to figure out that a White House staff, which doesn't like briefing the president with such petty details as the shooting down of Libyan planes, is hardly going to let him know about a bunch of papers that... well, sort of just happened to walk out of the Carter White House and money right over to Reagan headquarters.

There's been talk of a mole or moles. When the briefing-book eaper first surfaced, it was generally assumed that the book had been handed over by a low-level White House employee. A lot of people, almost automatically, said it must have been some unhappy secretary. That assumption was reinforced by rumors and a headline or two about "secret favors" being awarded. But before too long there were so many papers leaked that it became clear that no one secretary, however benevolent, could or would be handing out all of them.

There was the briefing book itself. There were memos on domestic policies and an foreign policy. And there were papers from the National Security Council. Altogether, more than 1,000 pages.

The White House—any president's White House—is a compartmentalized operation. National Security Council people don't give their papers to the domestic policy people. And the re-election campaign people certainly didn't go around handing out the presidential de-

Alton Forthrightman is in vacation.

bate papers to adhere in the White House any more than football coaches in the Grey Cup or Super Bowl contests Xerox their game plans for the stadium hot dog vendors. So if there was one single mole, it would have had to be at the top.

There's another thing. Put yourself in the shoes of the Reagan people. Let's say the Carter briefing book just dropped over the transom into your lap. Would you not assume right away that it was a plant, a setup? Of course you would. Yet all the evidence so far shows that Reagan's people trusted the briefing book as the real McCoy. That would suggest that they knew and trusted the source, that they had checked and re-checked the briefing book notes before trusting him to handle them enough to program their candidate with the proper responses to counter issues raised in the briefing book.

Given the importance of the debate,

'There will never be a smoking gun in the 'Debategate' eaper: Ronald Reagan hardly reads his own briefing books'

the source would have had to be a reliable, stable and different known quantity. And that points to the possibility of someone who was either planted in the White House or recruited. If you then multiply the mole factor by whatever number of bodies was needed to haul out the loot that found its way into the Reagan campaign files, what you are left with is a full-blown conspiracy.

There is no evidence of such a conspiracy. None at all. All there is is a suspicion by some Democrats, journalists and others. The suspicion was aroused by the presence in the Reagan organization of a number of former CIA and other intelligence officials. It was reinforced when it was revealed recently that William Casey, who was then Reagan's campaign manager and is now boss of the CIA, ran an "intelligence operation" during the campaign. The aim of the operation was to monitor the Carter camp, which was suspected of trying to pull off an "October surprise," some apocalyptic act that would help Carter win to victory.

What Casey and his crew were afraid of was that Carter might launch a sec-

ond operation to free the American hostages in Iran and actually pull it off. So they had a network of retired military officers checking military bases for unusual movements. (What the little old generals and admirals in tennis shoes would have done if they had discovered such an operation has never been fully explained. Would they really have blown the whistle on another rescue attempt?)

Anyway, here was Bill Casey, whose record as a spy master goes way back to the Second World War, all of a sudden being named not just as the head of an election campaign intelligence operation but also as the purveyor of Carter White House papers. Casey has denied handling the papers, but the documents remain. If not Casey, then who? And if it wasn't a conspiracy or even theft, what was it? Just a spontaneous mass betrayal by disloyal Carter staffers?

It's all just so much press hype, you might say. The Republicans are saying it. Reagan has said it. But it isn't. In the contrary, the press was, in a way, dragged into it once. In fact, let's face it, the press misled it.

Eight days before the 1980 debate, the *Richmond Free Press*, a newspaper in Indiana, reported that David Stockman had publicly boasted how he had used a "pilfered" copy of the briefing book in preparing Reagan for the debate. The report was on page 15. And it stayed there. No one picked it up.

Now imagine what would have happened if the report had spread beyond *Richmond* into the major news media. There would have been an uproar.

At the time Reagan's main problem was to convince the voters that he was trustworthy. The debate helped him to do that, and there are people who say it was decisive. But if the headlines had said "Reagan got all the nuts of the debate, and maybe the election, too, might well have been different.

If only... well, at your next barbershop party when the conversation lags you could play an interesting game of "if" what miseries would we all—Americans, Canadians and others—have been spared if Ronald Reagan had lost the election? Don't worry about your guests getting too depressed. I have an contract antitide absolutely guaranteed to snap them out of it. "In one word or less list all the glories that might have been if Jimmy Carter had been re-elected."

Joe Schlessinger is the Washington correspondent for CBC TV news.

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